

TURKISH LIFE

IN

WAR TIME

BY

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PREFACE.

An understanding of the elements which enter into the composition of the Eastern question is a necessary preliminary to comprehension of efforts looking toward its solution. Some of these elements are the diverse interests which centre in Turkey, and which limit the unity of European action. Others are the administrative peculiarities of the Turkish Government, the fundamental principles of its statesmen, the corruption of its officials, and the close intermixture of the discordant races which are under its rule. Others, again, of these elements grow out of the dense ignorance which, leading a sturdy and often meritorious Moslem peasantry into detestable actions, makes the Turkish name a by-word in Europe; and which causes the Christians of Turkey to lend themselves to folly or to crime, unmans them, and leads them to bewail as unendurable, not only real grievances of their subject condition, but penalties of indolence and ignorance not exclusively limited to the Turkish Empire. Any near view of life in Turkey will aid to an understanding of these features of the question of the East.

Such a view may perhaps be found in the record of events and experiences found in the ensuing pages.

This book does not profess to be a complete history of the Turkish war with Russia. It is merely a record of leading events, a suggestion of causes and effects, and a story of incidents of Turkish life in a critical time, written with a view to assisting public acquaintance with the character and habits of races whose hands sometimes seem to toy with the peace of all Europe.

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TURKISH LIFE IN WAR TIME.

CHAPTER I.

THE CRISIS OF 1876.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *April 15th*, 1876.

AS we passed in front of the Sultan's palace to-night, a Turk, sitting near me on the ferryboat, burst out into a wild tirade of abuse against the Sultan, calling him the devourer of the people's substance. No Christian would dare whisper such thoughts. The fact that a Moslem is bold enough to speak his mind in such a place shows that his opinions are popular. The people, hoping against hope, have imagined that the embarrassment of the Turkish treasury will somehow find relief. Although the Government did not pay the coupons which were due in October, it has been expected to pay those maturing in April. But now it has let the April coupons also go by default, not even remarking upon the circumstances of its failure. Hence the people, at last convinced of the failure of their last hope, display a wrath and despair most pitiful.

Every night robbers break into houses; every day footpads strip unhappy citizens in byways of the city. These robbers are desperate men, using the knife on the slightest pretext. You hear a footstep in your

bedroom at night and spring up. The next instant a long, sharp knife strikes into your flesh, and the thief is gone. The coward has cut at you in the dark solely because he fears you may hinder his flight. Moreover he has fled so swiftly that no police investigation will ever recover him for your vengeance.

These robbers often rob because they are hungry. But they are also transformed into anarchists by a blind sense of wrong, and are encouraged by the death-like lethargy which seems to be creeping over the whole social system. The police are miserably useless. Two nights ago a man was dragged from his horse and murdered for his money within fifty yards of a police station, yet the men on guard say that they neither saw nor heard anything of the affair.

While the Government in civil affairs is languid and shiftless, in military matters it shows plenty of energy. It is buying materials of war in great store, and is assembling numbers of troops in all the northern provinces. It devotes to army uses a good share of the money which ought to go to pay the coupons. Meanwhile, Panslavist emissaries have been preaching insurrection in Bulgarian villages, exciting the interest of their hearers by parables which represent the substitution of marble palaces for mud hovels to be the first result that may be expected from revolt. They seem to have actually arranged a revolt which, led by Servian officers and supported by the insurrection of Servia itself, will either wrest the whole Balkan peninsula from the hands of the Sultan, or, in failure, will still accomplish the same object, by forcing Europe, for the sake of saving Christian rebels from Turkish vengeance, to make a military occupation of the region. It is now

said that this Bulgarian revolt will take place upon the 13th of May. Be this as it may, Servia is making active preparations for war. The European powers are considering new measures for quieting the disturbances in Turkey. The Eastern question evidently presses once more for a solution. This time that solution must be permanent.

May 7th—On entering the steamer to go to the city this morning, I noticed a strange silence among the passengers. Some of the Turks were talking in whispers, but the Christians in the crowd seemed troubled, not daring to speak a word From a Turkish morning paper I learned the cause of the anxiety of the people Two foreign consuls have been murdered in a Mohammedan mosque at Salonica by a fanatic mob The governor-general of the province stood by, and found no means of saving the victims No wonder the Christians seem terrified by this example of what Moslems can do, and no wonder that as I read, many Moslems watched my face, in order to judge of the impression produced upon foreign minds by the terrible story! The murder of European consuls by a great uprising of Turks is an event so full of possible consequences that the announcement of it sobered even this crowd of careless and garrulous Orientals

The outbreak at Salonica arose from one of those pretended conversions to Islamism which are often the cloak for abductions of Christian women by young Turks The girl in this case was a Greek from a country village. The wealthy young Turk who had captivated her affections brought his mistress from her home by rail to Salonica. A party of Greeks, informed of the affair, and enraged at the apostasy of the fair young

Christian, took possession of the girl at the depot, and carried her off in the first carriage which they could find. Meanwhile the Turk raised a cry that the girl was a Mohammedan, and that the Christians were trying to force her to abandon the true faith. The carriage seized by the Greeks for the rescue of the girl chanced to be that of the American consul. This gave to the rescue the appearance of being directed by foreign officials, and supplied the fanaticism of the Moslems with the excuse for allying itself with the popular restiveness under foreign interferences. The whole Mohammedan population flocked to the mosques clamoring for the massacre of all the Christians of the city. The troops sympathized with the mob. The governor-general was fearful and incompetent. The Christians were wild with terror, and the consuls of France and of Germany went to the principal mosque to remonstrate with the people. Then the fanatic mob, fairly howling with rage at this new attempt of Europeans to thrust themselves into the affair, rushed upon the consuls and beat them to death with iron bars. The girl, who was known to be a worthless character, was afterwards surrendered to the authorities, and the violence of the mob was appeased.

The murder of any foreigner in Turkey is a serious affair, but the murder of foreign officials must bring upon the Turks the danger of armed intervention for the protection of life. Yet the Moslems of this city are evidently rather glad of this murder. They sympathize with the men who dared translate into acts, the universal feeling of exasperation against Europeans.

But events crowd one upon another. The Bulgarian insurrection commenced day before yesterday. There

are but five thousand troops in the city, but the Government sent off eight battalions within forty-eight hours after the first outbreak. This was done so quietly that few in the city knew of the fact until they read of it in this morning's papers.

May 9th.—The Government gives no information whatever of the situation in Bulgaria. Private telegrams on the subject are detained by the police. The Bulgarians of the city are jubilant, believing that suppressed news must be favorable to their people. A gentleman who has the confidence of the Bulgarians, has told me some of the plans of the insurgents. The agents of the Servian socialists* have arranged to have drill-masters from the Servian army meet the rebels in the Balkans. Each Bulgarian village will send its quota of men to the various points of rendezvous in the mountains, whence, while organizing, they will send out raiding parties to burn bridges, tear up railroads, cut telegraph wires, and otherwise impede the movements of troops, until the arrival of the Servian army. The families of the insurgents are to be cared for in their homes by men regularly detailed to remain loyal to the Sultan.

The whole success of the plan depends upon the action of Servia. As yet the Servians give no signs of moving, although they have long been preparing for war. Meanwhile, the Bulgarians will have all that they can do to hold their own. Turkish troops are being hurried to the front. Nevertheless the characteristic languidness even in the Turkish military operations in

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The Omladina of Servia is a socialistic society. It engaged in this insurrection.

Herzegovina justifies an expectation that this new revolt may have time to grow. Already the Bulgarians are saying that the insurgents have cut the railroad and have burned Philippopolis. This would imply that matters have proceeded very far.

The Sultan is finding the murder of the consuls at Salonica a matter of serious gravity. The small regard for Turkey yet remaining in Europe will certainly be destroyed by any hesitation in dealing out prompt and spontaneous justice. The Pashas, anticipating some such danger, have sent high officers to Salonica, with orders to punish all guilty parties, and with troops to control the rioters. The governor-general of Salonica has been relieved, and, as he richly deserves, will be tried for his life. At the same time, the embassies of all the great powers represented at the Porte have sent secretaries to the spot to watch the trials. A number of foreign war vessels have also been ordered to Salonica. In all this matter the foreign ambassadors here are acting in concert, for the Salonica riot threatens the safety of every foreigner in the land.

Constantinople, as it now is, is less than ever a pleasant abiding place for nervous persons. Besides the excitement caused by the Salonica affair and the outbreak in Bulgaria, we have a local excitement of our own. For two days past, the Softas, or Moslem students of theology in this city, have been crowding all the gunshops to buy arms. The Christians are in a white terror. These Moslem students are fanatical in their hatred for all non-Moslems, and have the reputation of being quite capable of bloody deeds, "for the good of the faith." The Christians fear that Softas believe in a modern restoration of the era of massacre

Several have asked me to-day whether, in case of an outbreak of the Softas, the probabilities of aid from Europe would justify an armed resistance to butchery.

May 12th.—The city is convulsed with terror. Yesterday the Softas, to the number of about ten thousand, overturned their desks as a sign of revolt. Then they trooped to the palace of the Sheikh ul Islam. This functionary is the highest Moslem authority in matters of religious belief, and is therefore the great chief of those who study at the mosques. He has displeased the ultra-religionists among the Moslems by an undue readiness to indorse the Sultan's measures without regard to Moslem traditions. His resignation was the object of the mob of Softas who marched upon his palace. The old man heard what was coming, and fled by a side door. Then the Softas went in mass to the Porte, and even sent a tumultuous delegation to the Sultan's palace with a demand for the removal of the Sheikh ul Islam, and of Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, the Grand Vezir. The Bulgarian revolt has stripped the city of troops, hence, fear of the Softas fills the people from the Sultan down to the poorest laborer. The Sultan has granted the demands of the mob, but the common people, having no such means of placating the Softas, find no means of escaping from their fears. By four o'clock in the afternoon the shops were closed, and the streets of the city were almost deserted. The panic spread into Pera, the European quarter of the city, and many residents prepared to flee for safety to the ships in the harbor. The dangers of the day are exaggerated among the foreigners, because, living apart by themselves, they have no means of knowing the habits of the Moslem population, or of anticipating its intentions.

A guard of Russian marines was posted by the side of the great gate of the Russian Embassy, and at nightfall was reinforced by a motley band of ferocious-looking Croats and Montenegrins. These measures for the defense of General Ignatief's person added to the popular panic and troubled the slumbers of the whole city.

This morning the Softas assembled in the great square in front of the War Department, and marched to the Porte to learn what men would be sent by the Sultan to fill the vacant offices. In order to judge of the degree of our danger, I went through some of the principal streets. The Softas were grouped in large bands, and looked at me with no friendly eyes. Many of them had revolvers in their girdles, and they were talking in low, quick tones of excitement. Every armorer's shop was full of their white turbans, and I could see that they were buying pistols and long knives. But they showed no unusual rancor toward myself or other Christians who chanced to venture on the streets. All the Christians whom I met showed great fear, slinking along close to the wall, as if anxious to escape observation. The shops were generally open, because the police had insisted on this mark of confidence, but the poor shopkeepers looked as if they would by far prefer the safety of a prison. Not a woman was anywhere to be seen. Nevertheless some attention to the language and the bearing of the Softas convinced me that whatever the ultimate result of the revolt, its first intent is not the massacre of the Christians. So far, this is a relief to the strain of expectation, but it is not possible to avoid remembering that a mob does not reason when in the full heat of passion.

The day wore heavily away. In the afternoon, mes-

sengers from the Sultan arrived at the State wharf at the foot of the street leading to the Sublime Porte. With them came a new Grand Vezir, and a new Sheikh ul Islam. The moment was critical. The Softas had declared that they would allow no obnoxious appointee to land. But now the dense mass of white-turbaned gentry made way. They had deigned to accept the appointments made by the Sultan. The new officials, looking very uncomfortable in the midst of the great silent crowd, made their way to the place of installation and were formally established in office. Only then did the Softas show ungovernable excitement. They had carried their point; they had compelled the Sultan to yield, and they cheered loud and long at their success.

But now the terrors of the people caused a new trouble. The excited students, dispersing to their various schools, filled all the streets. They rushed headlong, talking loudly, shouting, pulling each other about, chasing one another like school-boys. Before this mob of uncertain intentions the hearts of the shopkeepers became as water. Some put up their shutters, some dared not wait even for this. Every man incontinently fled. Some crawled into cellar holes and sewer-vaults; some fell in the street overcome by fear; some took refuge in neighboring buildings. In ten minutes all the streets between the great bazaar and the Golden Horn were deserted. The fortress-like Hans were crowded with the refugees, who clamored for the closing of the massive iron-bound doors, and then tremblingly waited behind them for the attack of the insurgents. But no attack came. The Softas, with vast self-control, even refrained from touching the contents of abandoned

shops. But they were pleased to regard this panic of the Christians as an immense joke, and, from an amicable desire to prolong it, added vehemence to their motions. With several other Americans, I was in a large building on a great thoroughfare, when these singular rioters passed by. We heard the rush of a great multitude, and ran to the windows. The street, as far as we could see, was full of wildly gesticulating men. For one instant it was a question with us whether we ought not to bar the great iron doors, but in a moment more we saw that the leaders of the mob were merry and laughing. That settled the question, and in perfect peace we could watch the wild rush of the Softas, and admire their long robes waving behind them, like banners on the breeze.

After the mob had gone by, the frightened people began to crawl out from their hiding-places. But all thought of business was given up. The shopkeepers secured their abandoned shops, and then went home. Long before sunset the city was as still as a city of tombs.

It is by no means pleasant to reflect that these wild jokers of to-day practically rule our city. They have tried their power, have carried their point, and what they may next attempt is an unknown quantity in the problem of our safety. True, all the newspapers deride the fears of the people. The *Levant Herald* even ventures to hint that Gen. Ignatief acted in opposition to knowledge, and with intent to create disturbances, by parading his body-guard before the public last night. But all these editorial remarks abate nothing of the disagreeable features of this affair.

May 13th.—The *Levant Herald* has been suspended

for improper language "concerning the ambassador of a nation friendly to the Turkish Empire." This summary punishment makes all the papers cautious.

The Moslem part of our population is, on the whole, pleased with the Softa demonstration. These people regard the movement as a popular protest against the vacillations of the Sultan. They deem the success of the rioters a good omen for the future of the policy by which Turkey is to assert its manly independence of European control.

The papers to-day publish some details from Bulgaria. It seems that the first outbreak took place at a large village just south of the Balkans. The Bulgarians fired upon the police, and attacked the governor's residence, finally driving him away. Troops have been arriving from Syria and from Asia Minor, and have been sent into Bulgaria. The Circassians of Adrianople have made a formal request for permission to move upon the Bulgarians in independent bands, but the Government has declined to allow this.

May 14th.—The city is quiet again, but a single pistol-shot at any moment would cause a mighty panic.

The new Grand Vezir, Mehmed Rushdi Pasha, is a very old man, but is fully aware of the necessity of conciliating Europe. At the same time, he has the love of the people as one of the few surviving exemplars of the old-time honesty often attributed to Turks. He has come into power at a time which might well try the fortitude of a younger man. He is as far as possible from approving such mob rule as that which brought him into power, and the problem of controlling the Softas must present itself with pressing force to his mind. Moreover, he has to face Europe, for the pow-

ers have prepared their new demand for the settlement of the question of Herzegovina. The three emperors of Austria, Russia, and Germany, have agreed upon a paper drawn up at Berlin, which is to force the Sultan into compliance with European views as to the government of the disturbed provinces.

The Turkish papers now give more news from Bulgaria. It seems that the troops have bombarded a church at Perushtitza, near Philippopolis, and that in consequence six hundred Bulgarians have surrendered. The Bulgarians of the city say that the Turkish bulletins of victory are false, and that the insurgents in Bulgaria are well organized, and act with a vigor which has paralyzed the troops. The Bulgarians have burnt two bridges on the railroad near Philippopolis. It is also said that twenty thousand insurgents hold the Belova pass on the road to Sophia, and have repulsed an attack of the Turkish army. The newspapers tell of the burning of villages on the plain of Philippopolis by the rebels. Of this, the Bulgarians here know little, although they justify the burning of Turkish villages as a necessary part of the revolt. They tell a story, to illustrate the completeness of the organization of the insurgents, concerning a village governor arrested by the insurgents, but released because he had been kind in his administration. He is said to report that he was taken to the insurgent camp, finding himself in the presence of uniformed and well-drilled soldiers, armed, and provided with flags that bear the Lion of Bulgaria. All these stories are mere rumors, but they serve to show that the repression of the rebellion will be difficult. Still it is evident that the Bulgarians have not effectively seized the great highway between Philippopolis and Adrianople.

They are, therefore, not in a position to open any sure communication with Servia, and must be ultimately defeated, unless they have aid from Servia in unexpected force. Servia still takes no steps toward declaring war, and may soon lose the opportunity to help the Bulgarians, for the Turks are throwing a mass of troops upon the rebels. The Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee from Bucharest has crossed the Danube in order to further the interests of the rebellion.

May 18*th.*—Mithad Pasha, formerly Governor of Bulgaria, has been appointed minister without portfolio. His presence in the cabinet is expected to aid in meeting the new crisis in European relations caused by the preparation of the Berlin memorandum by the three emperors.

The official dispatches announce more victories in Bulgaria. The village of Otluk-keuy, where the revolt commenced, has been taken by assault. When the rebels were summoned to surrender, they fired upon the flag of truce, and a sharp battle ensued, in which the insurgents fared ill.

The Turkish papers say that eighteen thousand troops are now in Bulgaria, and that a force from the army on the Servian frontier has been detached to co-operate with the troops sent from this city. Meanwhile, more troops were sent from here last night. The Bulgarians of the city begin to fear for their compatriots. They bitterly blame the Servians for failing to keep their part of the agreement.

May 19*th.*—The Government seems to be hesitating about punishing the Salonica murderers. It is extraordinarily blind to its interests, and to the demands of justice. There is no doubt, however, that the whole

Moslem population is in favor of defending the murderers, regarding the consuls as sacrificed to an unrighteous policy of interference adopted by Europe. The Pasha of Salonica seems to be proven implicated in the murder. The American consul is cleared from all share in the rescue of the Greek girl. This is satisfactory, since he would not have been justified in such interference, and since it was this rescue which led to the subsequent tragedy.

More victorious bulletins from the Turkish army in Bulgaria! The Turks say they have cleared the Belova pass, and have captured Avret Alan, the headquarters of the revolt, having dispersed with small effort fifteen thousand insurgents. At this place the troops have found arms and ammunition, and all the records, registers, and muster rolls of the Bulgarian forces. They have also captured sixty-four Bulgarian officers bearing commissions from the Insurrectionary Committee. The Turks are elated and pray lustily for divine aid to their troops. The Bulgarians of the city are correspondingly dejected, but still hope that these official bulletins lie.

The Turkish general-in-chief, Abd ul Kerim Pasha, has gone to Adrianople to direct further operations. The people of that city are in a pitiable state, fearing for their lives. The city is full of wild ruffians, Circassians and others, who are on their way to Bulgaria to fight as volunteers—that is to say, under no orders, and under no organization. The presence of these people in Adrianople is leading the Christians to place their valuables in the heavy stone Hans for safe keeping, in case of a riot.

May 24th.—Some uneasiness is excited by the attitude of the Softas, who are again restless. They have

to-day been in a large body to the palace, and have presented a demand upon the Sultan for various reforms. It is said that they even ask for a constitution, and for a diminution of the expenses of the palace.

May 26th.—To the astonishment of every one the Bulgarian insurrection has collapsed! It was evident that it would end in wretched failure, since Servia has made no demonstrations in its aid. But the statements of the friends of the insurgents as to the forces under arms make their total dispersal seem incredible.

But the commander-in-chief says that the bands are all scattered, and that numbers of insurgents are coming in on all sides to surrender, while great numbers of the leaders are in prison. The dispatch closes with a devout ascription of praise to God for this success. It seems that besides the regular forces engaged against the Bulgarians, great numbers of the Moslem part of the local population have been armed by the Government and turned loose to fight the insurgents in their own way. These irregular warriors are called Bashi Bozouks, or Rottenheads. The term alludes to their being sent out without regular organization and without officers at their head.

England has refused to support the Berlin memorandum. The three emperors will act alone in the matter, and will immediately present their demand, which is that Turkish reforms in Herzegovina and Bosnia shall proceed under the supervision of the European powers. An English fleet is on its way to the Dardanelles. The Turkish newspapers are much pleased at the attitude of England, and urge the Government to refuse the demands of the three emperors. The ministry is irresolute and divided, fearing war.

May 29th.—The last remaining band of Bulgarian insurgents have surrendered, and their leaders have been hung. Now that no more Bulgarians remain in the field, aid from Servia seems likely to be forthcoming. A band of 200 men from the principality have seized a steamer on the Danube, using it as a means of crossing into Bulgaria. Turkish troops being in hot pursuit of this band, promises a somewhat uncomfortable fate to its members. The whole Bulgarian rebellion was ended a week or more ago, but for some inscrutable reason dispatches announcing the fact were withheld from publication by the Government.

The Russian ambassador is to-morrow to present to the Porte the Berlin demands. The Pashas hope aid from England, but cannot get the promise of it. They see in the course of the English ministers opposition to Russia, but they feel the difference between this and active support of Turkey. They are in a terrible condition of anxiety through uncertainty as to the extent to which they may go.

May 30th.—This morning at early dawn a tremendous cannonade aroused and startled the city. The first thought of the timorous was that the Russians had come. The whole lower Bosphorus, reverberating with the roar of heavy guns, which shook to their foundations the crazy wooden houses, was covered with dense clouds of smoke that reflected and magnified the flashes of the explosions. At length a breeze thrust aside the upper volumes of the smoke-clouds, and revealed the tall masts of the fleet, covered with gala flags. The gay spectacle satisfied our anxious householders that at least their own heads were not in danger, and opened the lips of the crowd at the windows. But it was not long before

the eager inquiries were answered by the news that this cannonade saluted a revolution.

Sultan Abd ul Aziz had been dethroned and replaced by Murad Effendi, his oldest nephew and legal heir. The Bosphorus steamers bringing the people to their daily occupations in the city, were unusually silent. Rumors of great events were afloat, but few ventured to speak of them. The passengers, uncertain of their ground, and in terror of the spies who report incautious words, tried to conceal their anxieties, or at best whispered their conjectures to intimate friends. To strangers no man dared give information.

When the boats arrived at the Galata bridge, the air of the passing throng relieved this restraint. Military officers, wearing, in strange contrast to uniforms soiled and thread-bare with active service, the glittering insignia of the imperial staff, were hastening to and fro on hired horses, or in the ragged hackney coaches of the streets. High officials in their private conveyances were rolling, ever placid and unmoved, toward the city; Softas, laughing and jubilant; Greek merchants; well-to-do Englishmen; beggars in artistic rags and bearing the tin cups of supplication; Armenians in sleek broadcloth; hod-carriers; school-boys with their books; Jewish peddlers; mechanics with their tools were passing in an endless stream. The whole city was tending toward the War Department in Stamboul.

The story of the night was in the mouth of every one: how the troops, under the direction of Redif Pasha the commandant of the city, had silently surrounded the Sultan's palace; how the Grand Vezir with Mithad Pasha, Hussein Avni Pasha, minister of war, and others had obtained from the Sheikh ul Islam authority for the

deposition; how the fleet sent boats to guard the water front of the palace; how Hussein Avni Pasha went to the rooms of Murad Effendi, nearly terrifying that prince to death, by sending him in a common hackney coach and under a strong guard to the War Department; how Hussein Avni Pasha, then entered the Sultan's private rooms, told him of his deposition by popular concurrence, silenced him with his revolver, convinced him, by pointing out the long black lines of troops in the gardens, of the hopelessness of resistance, and finally sent him by boat to the palace on the Seraglio point. The moment all this was safely accomplished, Murad Effendi, still afraid that some whim of the Sultan had doomed him to die, was proclaimed Sultan of Turkey, and was hailed as Murad V. by the assembled conspirators. The guns sounded the salute, and all the grandees of the empire were summoned to the War Department to kiss the hem of his robe and swear fealty to his throne.

All these details were discussed in the crowd as if they were details of a change in the ministry, or otherwise belonged only incidentally to the nation. It is a question whether the people would have felt more personally concerned in the dethronement of their Sultan had Abd ul Aziz been beloved of his subjects. As it is, the people act as though the events of last night were interesting to them only as spectators.

But the effects of the change are already felt by the people. The city is released from the terror which has weighed upon it. Every one believes that the reign of absolutism is ended, and that liberty and equality are to be the fundamental principles of the new reign. Even the criers who were sent to bawl out

in all the streets the accession of a new Sultan, had stories to tell of the gracious manners of Sultan Murad. It is said that when Mithad Pasha came to kiss his hand, bowing low, as is required by court etiquette, the young Sultan refused to allow it, saying, "I should kiss your hand. Do not bow down to me as if you were not allowed the privileges of manhood in my presence. I wish my ministers to be men, and to stand up like men, even in my court."

Little business has been transacted in Constantinople to-day. The day has been a great holiday. The sense of freedom has permitted all the people to indulge in speculations as to the economical results of the revolution. All the hideous past seems to be wiped out. A new era of plenty and prosperity is imagined to be inaugurated by the advent to the throne of this young man, supposed to be the chief of the young Turkey party. The newspapers with one voice are giving devout thanks to God for the salvation of the empire, and they point out that Europe will now be satisfied of the power of Turkey to discriminate for herself, and to cast off that which is oppressive or corrupt in the administration. The editors who most often used to be gagged by the arbitrary power of the Sultan, seem to derive immense satisfaction from speaking of him as "Abd ul Aziz Effendi." This form of speech, by placing the fallen monarch in the category of ordinary citizens, gratifies the taste for little revenges which is fostered by absolutism.

May 31st.—The newspapers are full of plans for the future. They expatiate on the corruption and injustice of the late administration, and draw golden pictures of the future. The people eagerly discuss this future, and

begin to treat the revolution as if it was their own work. It is rumored that Mithad Pasha has declared for constitutional government, and that in this the whole young Turkey Party is with him.

The theory of the young Turks is that Turkey can best escape the control of Europe by becoming a well organized free country. This idea is borne out by the fact that the Russian ambassador has not presented the Berlin memorandum. He had not the face to present these demands to the new Sultan, who comes to power on the basis of breaking with the past. Day before yesterday Turkey seemed pushed to the wall; the government must either accept the ultimatum, or prepare to fight the three emperors. In a flash the Pashas depose the Sultan, place a smiling young man on his throne, and solve the difficulty. The Berlin memorandum is effectually disposed of. The new Government can, without touching the pride of the Turkish people, yield all just demands of the insurgents, and turn over a new leaf. The Pashas begin by laying all the blame of the past upon the fallen Sultan, declaring his reign to have been abominable to true patriots. In this feeling, at least, they have the support of the country.

Abd ul Aziz was deposed upon an official opinion, which has now been published, of the Sheikh ul Islam. This document is in the form of a *fetva* or doctrinal rescript. Being issued by the highest theological authority, it is binding upon all true believers. Such rescripts are a common resource for the settlement of questions of equity. The plaintiffs embody the facts which they can prove in a hypothetical case, which they lay before the Sheikh ul Islam. This august gentleman studies the case, and according as the claim based on

the facts is favored or opposed by the principles of the Koran, he answers yes or no. In the case of the late Sultan, the document, containing nothing which might not be applied to any Sultan of Turkey, is a model of ambiguity.

"THE QUESTION.

"If the Commander of the Faithful exhibits folly in his conduct, not having the political knowledge necessary for good government; if his personal expenditures are beyond the endurance of the empire; if his maintenance upon the throne will lead to unhappy consequences, is it necessary, yes or no, to depose him?

"THE ANSWER.

"The Holy Law says, Yes.
"Signed by the Sheikh ul Islam
"Haïroullah,
"To whom may God be merciful."

On the Bosphorus steamer to-day, I had with me my two little girls, one six and the other eight years of age. The passengers, as they always do, spoke to the children and petted them. The six year old, however, began a special flirtation with a gray-bearded old Turk who was smiling at her over the top of his newspaper. At length the old man laid the paper down, and asked me the usual questions. "Are they your children? How old are they? Are they boys or girls?" (The significance of children's dress is rarely intelligible to a Turk.) Then he patted their cheeks, uttered the benediction "May God Almighty spare them to you," and produced from the folds of his garments a quantity of

green plums, which he was about to bestow, as a great delicacy, upon them. I could not convince him that whatever capabilities Eastern stomachs may possess, those of Westerners cannot compass unripe plums. However, the Turk yielded to my entreaties, and calling a cake peddler, he supplied the girls with cakes, again patting their cheeks, and calling on God to bless them. The old man was very pleasing in face and conversation, and on leaving the steamer he came again to the little girls, and kissing them, he gave them each a rose from the bouquet which he carried.

I mention this little incident because it illustrates the tenderness toward children so often seen among the Turks. The roughest and most repulsive of these people seems to have a soft spot in his heart for a child or for a bright flower.

June 1st.—It seems that the Bulgarian revolt has been the excuse for fearful outrages by the Turks. The revolt was the maddest freak that ever led men to death. Here was a district lying within a day's journey, by rail, of the capital of a powerful empire, an army ready for use in any emergency, and a railroad abundantly able to transport the army to the scene of action. Yet a few hundred villagers, without arms and without a leader, ventured to revolt against the Government in this district. Had they been forced into this course by intolerable severity, their lack of judgment would not have been surprising. But they were not under any such pressing burdens. They were oppressed, but no more oppressed than any of the people of Turkey. The oppression of Christians in Turkey does not make systematic warfare upon their religion or their families. The religion of the people is respected by the Govern-

ment, and their Bishops receive high honor. The people moreover have many privileges denied to the common people under other despotic governments. The oppression suffered by the Christians of Turkey is rather the tyranny of individual officials, than the deliberate policy of the Central Government. Not that such tyranny does not afford to those who suffer from it full excuse for revolt. But, as I have said, the emergency was not so pressing as to force the villagers to rise without counting the cost. The revolt was not even a spontaneous movement of the people, having been a creation of the Servian agitators who are working for the union of all Slavic races. The people were neither morally nor materially prepared for insurrection. They rose in revolt because they were urged to do so, and were promised the assistance of Servia, and were assured that Russia would protect them from any disastrous consequences of failure. So poorly did these agitators perform their work that they did not succeed in creating any insurrection in Bulgaria proper.

The district of Philippopolis, where the outbreak occurred, is the richest of the five mutesarifliks, which form the province of Adrianople. It lies along the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and is bordered on the west by the Rhodope Range. This latter range separates it from Macedonia, as the Balkan range separates it from Bulgaria. The district is, roughly speaking, a parallelogram one hundred miles long and seventy-five miles wide, and contains some nine hundred thriving villages—as Turkish villages go. Through the center of this district lies the railway from Constantinople to Sophia, as well as the great military highway which runs from Philippopolis by Sophia and along the

southern border of Servia to Bosnia. This highway is the great artery of connection between Constantinople and the north-western provinces of the empire, hence any attack upon it would instantly call forth the whole resources of the empire for its protection.

The Bulgarian revolt threatened this great highway, and not an instant was lost in dealing with it. Besides the military forces sent from Constantinople, the whole Moslem population of this district was summoned to the aid of the Government. With characteristic lack of forethought, or possibly by forethought, these village bands were sent out as Bashi Bozouks, that is, without responsible leaders, but with instructions to put down the rebellion at all hazards. According to Turkish army regulations, these auxiliary troops, receiving no pay from the Government, were to look to the plunder of the campaign for their reward.

This loose method of adding to the force at the disposal of the Government, may or may not have been expected to result as it did. In any case the Turks were not likely to use tender forethought as to its effect upon rebels. But the idea, lately prominent throughout Turkey, that the glorious Moslem rule of the sword is to be revived was fixed in the minds of these eager village warriors.

When the Turks, Gypsies, Pomaks, and Circassians, of the Moslem villages of Bulgaria, were thus sent out as Bashi Bozouks, they felt that they really needed no instructions. A time had arrived when they might pay off old scores, and they were ready for robbery, village burning, and murder. They killed at sight all Bulgarians found away from home. To the inhabitants of villages which took part in the revolt, they gave no

quarter, and continued their red-handed onset until they had caused a wild panic among the whole Bulgarian population of the region of their operations. The Bulgarians fled in every direction. Those who had not dreamed of revolt abandoned their villages and poured into the cities where Turkish troops could protect them. Their flight was taken as a sign of guilt by the Bashi Bozouks. Numbers of innocent refugees with their families were attacked as they fled, and fell where they were attacked. So indiscriminate was this slaughter, that employees of the government railroad were often fired upon when they went outside of their station-houses. This led to the issue of a special order prohibiting the killing of railway officials, but not otherwise repressing the ardor of the defenders of the faith. This horrible work of the Bashi Bozouks went on along the flanks of the columns of the regular army, and continued for about two weeks. Then the Turkish commander-in-chief declared that the rebellion had been crushed "by the valor of our forces and the blessing of Almighty God."

Letters from some of the towns on the border of the ravaged district describe the Bashi Bozouks as coming in with great loads of clothing, jewelry, household utensils, and church ornaments, and droves of horses and cattle, which they offered for sale in the markets at ridiculously low prices. This is the method of the Turkish Government in crushing rebellion. It is said that nearly a hundred villages have been burned in this horrible affair.* The Turks have acted with perfect

* The whole story of the Bulgarian revolt was not revealed for some months after this. About fifty villages were ravaged by the Bashi Bozouks. Fifteen of these were entirely wiped out of existence, and as

ferocity toward the Bulgarians, but despots are never wont to treat rebels with leniency. The Pan-Slavist agitators ought to have remembered this, and to have taken pity on the women and children before teaching these ignorant peasants that it was their duty to revolt "for the good of the cause."

Servia is now behaving as if she was going to rise, but it is too late. No more movements will ever take place in Bulgaria. Besides, the revolution here may deprive her of an excuse for revolt. But the Pan-Slavists will not, like the European governments, pause because Turkey has changed Sultans. Their objects would be defeated if Turkey were to have an opportunity and a will to reform its administration.

The Salonica court-martial has condemned to death several men who had a part in the murder of the con-

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many as twenty more lost at least one-half of their houses. The Bashi Bozouks must have killed several thousand men, women, and children. The lowest estimate of reliable authorities places the number of killed at seven thousand five hundred. The English investigating commission says twelve thousand. Estimates alone are possible, and the truth will never be told. As a rule, villages were spared whenever the people remained quietly at home; but at Batak, a large village of six hundred houses, although the people did not move from their places, a band of ruffians robbed and destroyed the place with nearly two thousand of the inhabitants, after subjecting the women to every outrage. Any movement of the people was sufficient evidence of participation in the revolt. At Perushtitza the people, in panic, barricaded themselves in the church. Bashi Bozouks then attacked them as rebels, and were beaten off during two successive days. Then the regular Turkish troops were called up, and destroyed the church with artillery. When the Pasha in command saw that he had killed two hundred peasants and near one hundred women by his bombardment, he said regretfully, "I was told that the church was full of soldiers." The whole of the village was burned during the three days' fight, and the whole disaster was unnecessary, for none of the people had joined the insurgents.

suls. The people are indignant, and will regard these men as martyrs.

June 2d.—Yesterday the ex-Sultan sent a letter to Sultan Murad, begging to be removed to some other quarters. The old palace at the Seraglio, where he has been confined, has connected with it memories of whole centuries of intrigue and tragedy, which make it an extremely uncomfortable place of residence. Hence this request of Abd ul Aziz has been granted, and he has been assigned quarters in the little palace at Cheragan, a few rods from his former residence. He has at times become very violent toward his attendants, and yesterday he threatened one of them with a revolver. Then the guard came in and disarmed him. This has put him into a frenzy of rage. He seems also to fear that he will be assassinated, now that his arms have been taken from him.

The popular rejoicing continues. Every mouth is filled with praises of the new Sultan, for his simple manners and his good will toward the people. The newspapers are also filled with jubilation. Turk-like, the editors speak of the reform of the empire, and the establishment of free institutions as already accomplished. Two or three columns in each of the Turkish papers are filled to-day with sonnets in praise of the Sultan, each ingeniously contrived so that the letters, which have fixed numerical values, shall when added together give the number of the current year for the result. Hundreds of clerks and officials of all grades must be at work composing these sonnets, with a view to attracting attention to their merits, and so securing the rewards for which they hunger.

June 5th.—Abd ul Aziz, the ex-Sultan, has killed him-

self. Last night he was unusually excited, and going to the windows of the palace, he harangued the guards on the quay below, cursing them for allowing him to be dethroned and shut up like a criminal. He also poured imprecations upon the captains of the magnificent fleet of ironclads anchored in the Bosphorus. "I bought those ships with my own money," cried the poor old man, "and there they lie, and refuse to help me!" At daybreak the women of Abd ul Aziz's family began to break the windows of the palace and to scream for help. The greater part of the splendid plate glass windows were broken, and the palace became a perfect bedlam. The officials rushed in to see what was the matter, and found Abd ul Aziz lying on a sofa in a pool of blood. He was still living, but died before a doctor could be brought. The veins of his arms had been opened with a pair of small scissors.

The death of the ex-Sultan is such a relief to the new administration that the people are quick to suspect foul play. But the Government has had a jury of nineteen of the most eminent foreign physicians in the city to examine the body, and has secured their signatures to a document, which has been published, and which declares that the wounds were evidently inflicted by the ex-Sultan himself, and were the cause of his death. Still many are of opinion that, as the French say, "they have suicided him." The recurrence of startling events is not calculated to permit us to feel at ease. The suggestion of a smoldering volcano is too strongly presented to the mind.

To-day eleven wagons, under a strong guard, carried the treasure of the late Sultan from the palace to the treasury. The people have extravagant ideas of the

amount of this treasure. Some say that Abd ul Aziz was holder of vast quantities of Government bonds, bought on speculation, and that the treasury has always paid him the full interest upon them, not daring to treat the Sultan as it treats the rest of the world. If there is any truth in this, we have the extraordinary spectacle of a sovereign destroying the public credit by the vast demands which he makes upon the treasury of the country, and then adding to the distress of the finances, by purchasing the bonds that he has depreciated in order to make them the cover for new demands upon the treasury. The execration heaped upon the late Sultan, in consequence of his thus figuring as a "bloated bond-holder," is deep and loud.

Meanwhile decrees from Sultan Murad proclaim liberty throughout the land, to all of its inhabitants; the disarmament of the Bashi Bozouks; and forgiveness of all repentant rebels, including the Bulgarians. Yet at the same time a decree for the banishment, without formal trial, of Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, suggests that the sweets of absolutism are not entirely unknown to the new Sultan. But on the whole the new administration seems unexceptionable to the people, and men are preparing to launch out in all sorts of business enterprises, on the strength of its promises.

June 16th.—The tragedy of the Sultan has been followed by a tragedy of ministers, which chills popular ardor as to the permanence of the good results of the revolution. The reign of Murad V. may perhaps be a new era for Turkey, but its first experiences are certainly unhappy.

Last night a cabinet meeting was held at Mithad Pasha's palace, in Stamboul. During the session a

Circassian holding the rank of major in the army entered the room, shot and killed the minister of war and the minister of foreign affairs, and dangerously wounded the minister of marine. The man seems to have had possession of the house for an hour. He attempted to burst open the door of the room where the surviving ministers had barricaded themselves, and killed two and wounded one of the servants and guards, by whom he was attacked. Then only was he finally disarmed and bound.

No sufficient explanation is given of this desperate assault upon the ministers. The Government declares that it arose from a personal grudge against the minister of war. Among the people it is regarded as an act of revenge for the death of Abd ul Aziz, which they believe that the ministers contrived. The silence of the Government as to the information gained by the police inquiry, the unexplained circumstances of the easy access of the Circassian to the room where the cabinet was in session, and the reported discords of the ministry seem to point to the existence of some hidden network of intrigue, which the Pashas take pains to hide.

Little regret is expressed at the death of Hussein Avni Pasha, the minister of war, who was a Laz* by birth, and is said to have been cruel, selfish, and tyrannical in his official relations. But all the sense of insecurity banished from the city by the revolution has been revived by this terrible tragedy.

June 17th.—The wretched Circassian major was hung this morning on a tree on the Bayazid Square, near the

* The Laz inhabit the mountains south of Batoum on the Black Sea coast. They are commonly reputed to be immoral, treacherous, and cruel.

War Department. A placard on his breast related his crime. He had been stripped of his uniform. A thin cotton shirt barely concealed the bayonet thrust in his back, made during the struggle with the attendants at the palace of Mithad Pasha.

Turkey is not yet civilized to the extent of delicate sensibilities concerning the effect of such spectacles on the morals of the community. The idea of an execution is, that its main object is to deter others from crime. Hence, the more public the punishment, the more effectual its power. This ghastly spectacle on the Square of Bayazid was an affair of the whole day, and the people flocked to gloat upon it from all parts of the city. Even women, dressed in the latest Parisian fashions, jostled against their Turkish sisters in the crowd that poured into the square from all the principal streets. The price of carriage hire in the city went up as it does upon gala days. Only after sunset did the great crowd about that fateful tree disperse—then the body was removed.

June 20th.—The sense of insecurity in the city has returned since the attack upon the ministry. The Government has made no frank statement of the result of its investigations into the cause of the crime, and there is a general feeling that important facts, bearing upon the stability of the Government, are concealed. One result of this has been to lead many seeming friends of constitutional government to come out openly against a change which would hamper the arbitrary action of the ministers. Some of the Softas met and made a friendly demonstration before Mithad Pasha's palace, but the next day several of the leaders were arrested, by way of showing these turbulent spirits that they are not to control affairs by mob law.

Mithad Pasha is now regarded as the leader of the whole movement which culminated in the dethronement of the Sultan. He is, perhaps, sensible of the need of introducing a just administration of law into the empire, but his ideas are variously interpreted by each section of the people. His main strength lies in the support given to him by the Softas, and the class which they represent. This class is the party which believes in resistance to Europe as the means of salvation for Turkey. It supports Mithad Pasha, because it believes that he aims to develop the principle of Moslem supremacy. The Softas clamor for the constitutional government which Mithad Pasha advocates; but when they explain what they understand by it, they reveal their expectation that Christians will be made to feel their inferiority. By a Parliament, the Softas understand an assemblage of Mohammedan notables to advise and restrain the Sultan. The Koran recognizes the right of the nation to such participation in the affairs of government. The Softa party believes that this return to the first principles of Islamism would save the country from official corruption. It believes, however, that it ought to show the Christians that they are no part of the nation, and should have no right of control in its affairs. A magnanimous kindness is due from good Moslems toward subject races, and the Christian subjects of the Porte have no right to ask or expect more than so much kindness as the pure sense of just Moslems will naturally accord to inferiors.

Mithad Pasha is strong in the support of this ultra-Mohammedan party; but he is also supported by the good wishes of Christians, and of many Europeans, because they understand his use of the word nation to in-

clude the Christians as its members. This class supposes him to be working for a reorganization of the empire, which will bring Christians into power on an equal footing with their Mohammedan fellow-subjects.

Mithad Pasha is thus evidently the leading spirit of the crisis, but he cannot be ignorant of the radical difference of view between the two parties which look to him. As long as he can avoid action he can be well supported; but as soon as he takes any step that will show whether he holds to the Mohammedan or Christian definition of the word nation, unanimity will disappear from the body of his supporters. For the present, the ministry promises everything in the way of reform for itself, and all manner of happiness for the people. But nothing can be done, says the ministry, until after the Sultan has girded on the sword. This ceremony takes the place of a coronation with a Sultan of Turkey. The sword of Osman the First must be girded on at the holy mosque of Eyoub, on the Golden Horn, before the Sultan is fully established on his throne. This ceremony may still be delayed for some weeks, as etiquette requires the presence on that occasion of a certain very sanctified gentleman who is of the family of the old Seljouk Sultans of Conia (Iconium). It seems that the Sultans of Turkey are as particular about the elements which constitute a legal succession as the bishops of any of the Christian hierarchies of this country are in regard to that which brings them into the line of Apostolic succession. The old gentleman who is to represent, at the sword-girding of Murad V., the ancient Seljouk house of Conia, has to ride on horseback from his residence in Asia Minor, in slow and stately dignity some three hundred miles

before the ceremony can take place. Meanwhile the authorities are putting up scaffolding for spectators along all the streets by which the Sultan is to pass when he returns through the city after he has assumed the sacred sword. But the ministry, beset with pressing difficulties, is doubtless sensible of the advantages of the respite from action afforded them by this rule of etiquette.

June 26th.—Turkey is not yet redeemed from absolutism in its government. A reaction against the idea of a constitution has set in, based upon the idea that it aims to bring Christians into power. The newspapers of the city have been freely discussing the subject as a measure of relief to the Christians of the country. In order to calm the excitement produced among Moslems by this discussion, the Government has suspended five newspapers. This severity has frightened all into silence. By way of checking the other party, however, the Government has also arrested many of the opponents of reform, and several hundred Softas have been sent out of the city. All these measures have been executed without the slightest pretense of a trial, and upon the sole decree of the Grand Vezir, acting for the Sultan. The Sultan is a mere puppet in the hands of the ministry, and his participation in government is a polite fiction. All these circumstances have revived the panic in the popular mind, and we again feel that we have to be ready for any terrible outburst at any moment.

The insurrection in Herzegovina has almost been forgotten in the turmoil of the last two months. We now hear that the Turkish army has succeeded, after a long and severe effort, in revictualing the besieged garrison

of Nicksics, the most important fortress of the revolted district. Servia has been making large preparations for war with Turkey, but Prince Milan now offers to send a high official to Constantinople to take the oath of allegiance to Sultan Murad. Any arrangement with Servia that will secure a little respite for reorganization will be a vast gain to the Sultan's government. The Turks, regarding Servia as the representative at this juncture of European, and particularly Russian, enmity, will oppose, while Servia threatens war, any concession to the Christians, lest it appear to be concession to Europe. At the same time the party of action in Servia would regret nothing so much as a true satisfaction of the demands of the Christians of Turkey. So the radicals on both sides stand in the way of peace. Although the oppression of Christians in Turkey is the excuse for the Servian preparations for war, it is not the real reason of the war movement. The real object of the Servian war party is to advance the project of erecting a great Slavic empire from the territories of Eastern Europe. It is the same object which sought to precipitate European intervention in Turkey by stirring up Bulgarians to the wild folly of an insurrection.

July 3d.—Servia has declared war against the Sultan. When this declaration arrived here, the Servian envoy was protesting to the Grand Vezir that his people would not make war. There was certainly no need of this absurd duplicity. The deceit has greatly incensed the Turks—a fact of no particular consequence, except so far as it increases the difficulty of controlling that distrust of Europe which is becoming an article of the creed of the common people.

The little principality of Montenegro has announced that it also will act with Servia. The enlargement of the sphere of disturbance in European Turkey brings the empire every day nearer to the time of a European intervention. Yet the whole Moslem population, with one voice, gave thanks to God to-day for his mercy in giving them the right to apply the sword to the infidels of the North. The Turkish newspapers of the city have all issued extras to announce the outbreak of war, and to put on record their pious joy at the event. The empire is now on the highway to destruction, and the people of the empire are doing their utmost to help it along.

The Government has called for volunteers to fight against Servia, and has announced that it will expect money contributions for the same purpose. There is a good degree of enthusiasm among the Moslems. They intend to fight upon Servian soil the battle for independence from Europe, and they add, with gnashing of the teeth, that now they will, once for all, make an end of those accursed Montenegrins, who, during four hundred years, have been a thorn in their flesh.

July 20th.—The war with Servia goes but slowly on. Volunteers constantly come and go in large bands. They march the streets in irregular columns, armed with flint-lock muskets, and with ferocious-looking swords and daggers. They sing religious songs, or dance as they march to a wild music of drum and clarionet. They are not uniformed, and provide their own arms. They are to receive rations from the Government, but are to pay themselves by sales of the spoils taken from the enemy. The results of this system of volunteer organization we have already seen in Bulgaria.

Reports from Adrianople and Philippopolis show that

the Government is very severe toward the Bulgarians arrested at the close of the insurrection. Numbers of these wretched people have been hung, and they fill all the prisons. Military commissions are in session at both of these cities, and almost daily order executions. The course of the Government is peculiar, to say the least, in view of the fact that it has proclaimed an amnesty to all these people. The Bulgarians of the city have called the attention of foreigners to this bloody sequel to the insurrection, and are telling some very terrible stories of the sufferings of their people. In consequence of these representations, Mr. Schuyler, our consul-general, has gone to Bulgaria to observe what is being done.

Aug. 9th.—The most extraordinary reports of the outrages in Bulgaria have been published in England. According to the English papers one would suppose that Bashi Bozouks are still ravaging Bulgaria, that the whole district of Philippopolis has been made a desert, and that sixty to one hundred thousand Bulgarians have been slaughtered in cold blood. The most terrific details are given—of babies bayoneted, women ripped up with the sword, of human heads used by Bashi Bozouks in ball play, of triumphal processions to parade the corpses of Christians by the wagon-load in the streets of the cities, of young women brutally maltreated and then burned alive in the place where they had been imprisoned. The truth about the bloody suppression of the Bulgarian insurrection is horrible enough, but I have every reason to believe that these particular stories of blood-curdling horrors are unnecessary embellishments. I have been informed by correspondents in the disturbed region of the course of

events from the beginning to the end, and they have never once mentioned even rumors of many things now reported in the papers. Such terrible sights in public places would have been instantly made known to me. Moreover, I have since requested my correspondents to state definitely if they are now aware of these awful acts of brutality. The reply is that the Bashi Bozouks slew right and left, and committed many outrages on women in the terrible two weeks of the puny rebellion; but of these fearful scenes now reported as common incidents of the reign of terror, they have first heard from the English newspapers. Moreover the English papers represent these things as now being done, whereas my letters long ago assured me that the Bashi Bozouks had been removed, and that traveling is again safe. In fact, an American gentleman traversed the district of Philippopolis a month ago with his family, without a guard and without thought of danger. This gentleman informed me that the Bulgarians, men, women, and children, were at work in the fields as usual, in perfect peace. Moreover he saw no burned villages, and heard no complaints of outrages along the main highway by which he came. It is evident from this fact that the district of Philippopolis has not been ravaged to the extent claimed by these newspaper writers, and that the outrages commenced in May did not continue through June. The fact is that the savagery of the Bashi Bozouks was in the main limited, as I have already said, to the narrow strip of territory which was the scene of the rebellion, and that it continued at its height for about two weeks. Since the accession of Sultan Murad there has been, as far as I can learn, but one case of outrage by a band of Bashi

Bozouks. In that case, which occurred in July, the three ringleaders were promptly hung by the Turkish authorities, and several of their followers were sentenced to imprisonment for their offense. The loose statements made in England concerning the state of Bulgaria, are willful misrepresentations of the facts. They are loose, because they are mere reports of hearsay gossip, and they are willful misrepresentations, because at some point in the process by which this gossip is transferred to the columns of the English press, there is a deliberate intention to deceive, in order to accomplish a political result which could not be accomplished if the facts alone were stated with attendant circumstances. The purpose of the misrepresentations has been several times explained to me by Bulgarians and their political friends. It is to secure to the Bulgarians, who inhabit with other races the territory between Adrianople and the Danube, the right to rule in that region. This purpose is not a very terrible one, but the means used to secure it may produce terrible results.

I have been thus particular in emphasizing the distinction between the facts of the Bulgarian outrages and the report of them, without any idea of defending the Turks. There is no great difference between the brutality revealed in the slaughter of ten thousand men, women, and children, and that exhibited in the destruction of one hundred thousand. But the wrong of the exaggerations which have been circulated in England during the past six weeks is in the fact that they are of a nature to blind the judgment of the statesmen who have to deal with the destinies of the people of Turkey. The massacre at Batak is enough to condemn the Turkish Government. But to represent, even falsely, that

the same butchery was indefinitely repeated throughout the district of Philippopolis, is to rouse an indignation which will not consider measures in the effort to punish the butchers. Thousands of women and children, as well as men, perished in consequence of the methods used by the Sultan to crush the insurrection in Bulgaria. This is horrible enough to justify a European intervention. But to add to this the statement that these poor creatures were slaughtered in sheer cold blood, that there was no Bulgarian insurrection, and that the massacres continued after Sultan Murad came to the throne with his benevolent promises, is criminal. For it compels men to believe that the time lacks for discussion, and that the people of Bulgaria will be exterminated unless rescued by a general attack on the Turks as enemies of mankind.

The oppression of the Christians of Turkey is such as to demand measures of relief. But to be effective these measures must be the result of careful consideration. If they are hastily adopted, they may gratify some private ambitions, but cannot fail to be unjust to the people as a whole. The Christians of Turkey cannot be dealt with as a unit, nor can they be treated as if liberty was all that is needed to enable them to establish a righteous government in the place of the iniquitous administration of Turkey. The Christians of Turkey have capabilities of development greater than any which have yet appeared among the Moslems. At some time they will have developed into fitness to govern themselves and their neighbors. But now they have no more sense of justice, and no more love of liberty in the abstract, than the Turks themselves. The idea of the Turkish Christian is the idea of the Turk. He be-

lieves that justice means justice to his own little sect, as only beloved of God, and that liberty means liberty for his sect to oppress for its own advancement the members of all other sects. Moreover, the Christians of Turkey, divided in several hostile factions, are so intermingled in city, town, and village, and so surrounded by Moslem peasants, commonly as much entitled as themselves to the ordinary rights of man, that no large block of territory can, for reasons of numerical preponderance, be set apart for any one sect or race to rule. Unless means of restraint for lawless Christians have been previously devised, an overthrow of the existing form of government in Turkey will result in a general and bloody struggle for supremacy among the various sects in every district of the empire. The anarchy which would ensue would be far worse and more disastrous to the whole population than the present Turkish anarchy. It is this fact which makes the wild agitation now prevailing in England a danger to the Christians of Turkey. In this light, those who have willfully misrepresented the degree of danger in which those Christians live, and for personal ends have thus excited the blind agitation in England, are criminally guilty.

An arrangement which will fuse into one nation all the discordant elements of the population, which will restrain these people from devouring one another until they can see the wisdom and policy of this fusion, and which will save, for their united benefit, the rich country that is their birthright, is the only arrangement which meets the requirements of right. Such an arrangement would protect the various European interests which rise to oppose the conquest of the country by any one power, and could be effected through a

mutual agreement of European powers to control the affairs of this country. But no such plan can be expected, if the nations are to accept the popular fallacy, that justice can be done and all the people made happy if the Turks are but expelled from Europe. The expulsion of the Turks might avenge the past, but it would provide nothing for the future.*

Lately I have had a little experience which illustrates government methods of dealing with suspected persons. I was some weeks ago sitting in the office of an American friend, when two well-dressed Turkish gentlemen appeared. These gentlemen made polite salutations, and remarked that they had a draft for a hundred dollars upon my friend B.

"Very good," said B.; "let me see it."

"It isn't here," said the Turk; "can't you just come down to the Validé Han and pay it there?"

"Why no," said B. surprised; "if you have a draft on me, bring it here and I will pay it."

"But it belongs to our Effendi, and he is lame and can't come here," was the reply.

"Well, if he can't come, he can indorse it and send it by you."

"Oh, can he do that? Very well, we will tell him."

With this the two gentlemen went away. But a Turkish friend who happened to be present whispered

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* The agitation against Turkey produced in England by these earlier and embellished accounts of the atrocities in Bulgaria had an incidental effect which was infinitely good. It had, of course, an important influence in fortifying that Turkish obstinacy which resulted in war with Russia. But it also restrained the Government of Lord Beaconsfield from placing England in the attitude of sole defender of an unrepentant Mohammedan Government, at a time when humanity most loudly demanded interference in behalf of the Christians of Turkey.

to me, "Those men are police spies. They have some object in coming here." He was evidently much excited at the occurrence, and naturally communicated his emotions to us.

B. and I were discussing what possible cause of complaint the Government could have against him, when the men reappeared, to say that their Effendi, the holder of the draft, could not now come, but would call in a day or two. They then made a respectful salutation and went away.

Our Turkish friend now volunteered to go after the spies in order to learn what they really desired. To this B. agreed, and in a few moments our friend returned accompanied by the two men. This time the spies said that they did not like to disturb B., but would he kindly step over to the Ministry of the Police to answer one or two questions.

It now became evident that the story of the lame Effendi with a draft of a hundred dollars was a thin fabrication intended to draw Mr. B. from his office, where he is by law secure from arrest, into the street, where the police could seize him. We consulted together and B. decided to go with the men, I volunteering to accompany him. As we sallied forth, I said to a friend, "If you hear nothing from us, report the case to the consul after two hours, and ask him to send some one to release us."

We went to the dilapidated building which serves as police headquarters, and were introduced by the spies into a large room, where a Turkish officer was seated at the head of a long green covered table. One of the spies whispered to this officer, who arose and greeted us with courtesy, and begged us to sit by him at the

table. The two spies then saluted and went away. The officer caused us to be served with Turkish coffee, inquired in the most tender manner after our health, and finally asked which of us was named B.

He then desired to know my name, and said "very good. You are welcome," when I told him that I had come with B. merely as a friend.

The room in which we were sitting was a police court. Several Turks soon arrived, and gravely saluting us, as well as the colonel at the head of the table, took seats along the baize, and prepared for business. Several prisoners were brought in under guard, questioned by the presiding officer, and sent off by a word or a gesture to liberty or to durance vile. The respectable gentlemen at the sides of the table took no part in affairs, but sat and smoked or sipped coffee in silence. The prisoners were of all classes. One was a Jew pickpocket, reduced to abject blubbering by the simple words "take him," addressed to the armed men at the door. Another was a lost child, ordered to be sent home in charge of the police. Another was a dealer in sham jewelry, who had sold for three dollars rings worth not three cents. A jerk of the magisterial thumb disposed of his case for an indefinite period. The next criminal was a broad-faced slouching village boy, a Moslem of eighteen, who was charged with the murder of his mother. This case demanded special attention. "Write to the minister about it," said the judge to his secretary. Then turning to the boy, "Did you kill your mother?" he asked.

"Yes," replied the fellow, with a grin, his eyes fixed on the floor.

"Dog of a misbeliever!" roared the judge. "May

God curse you for a scoundrel. Take him away! Take him quickly! Take him out!" he added to the guards. "Put him in the chains, and send the journal of the case to the minister instantly."

As the judge now turned to us with further expressions of his horror at the unfeeling stolidity of the murderer, B. improved the opportunity to remark that his business required attention, and if nothing further was required, we would take our leave. But the colonel begged that we would not be hurried. He then sent a guard to "see if Mehmed Effendi" had come. The guard returned a negative answer, which elicited no reply from the colonel. A party of Russian peasants had been brought in, clad in filthy garments. They uncovered their heads, exposing matted masses of long hair, which had never known the comb, and they bowed in great humility. The charge against these poor creatures was a lack of proper papers. They had landed from the Odessa steamer, and had no passports. A young lieutenant of infantry was summoned who spoke Russian fluently, and he was made to interpret for them. After a long series of questions the judge ordered them to be sent to the Russian consulate. This order filled the peasants with consternation. They begged to be spared that; they wept, they flattered. One of them even went so far as to attempt to crawl under the table to kiss the judge's feet. But the colonel roared to his guards to take them away, and relieved himself of their presence.

By this time we had been more than an hour in the court room, and found the course of justice monotonous. B. once more suggested that he must be going. But the judge again begged him to wait to see Mehmed Effendi. "But what does he want of me?" asked B.

"Oh, he will explain everything when he comes," was the reply.

I then decided that I would leave B., and go directly to the consulate to complain of his illegal detention by the police. But as I intimated my intention to make my farewell, the judge said, "Oh, no. I must ask you also to remain."

"I cannot," said I, "my business calls me away."

"I regret to delay your business, but it is of great importance that you should see Mehmed Effendi."

"I shall be happy to see Mehmed Effendi any day at my office; but to-day I am pressed for time, and cannot wait any longer. I merely came here as Mr. B's friend, and must now go."

"It is quite impossible," said the judge, carelessly turning his eyes to the door and again looking at me with a bland smile.

I had risen to my feet, but now in view of the fact that the door was obstructed by five burly guards, I concluded that it was "impossible," and again sat down.

After we had graced the police court with our presence for two tedious hours, we saw a small gray-haired gentleman in spotless black at the door of the room. On his entrance the whole court arose, while the guards flattened themselves against the wall with that peculiar effort at self-obliteration which in Turkey indicates the greatest respect. This was Mehmed Effendi. He nodded to the court, and coming to us bowed with great effusiveness, and in good French apologized for the delay, begging us to go with him to another room. As soon as we were safely in the corridor, I availed myself of Mehmed Effendi's good nature to remark

that I would now take my leave, as Mr. B. alone had been summoned to the court.

"Oh," replied Mehmed Effendi, "since your arrival here, your name has been added to the register, and I cannot now excuse you. It is quite impossible."

I paused an instant, and then observed that two Turkish soldiers with fixed bayonets were following behind us. It was indeed impossible for me to take my leave of this bland and courtly gentleman. It was difficult to check a rising indignation, for our detention by the police was a direct violation of Turkish law and of the treaties. But we both knew that nothing would be gained by showing resentment, and so we accompanied our guide into a small room with iron grates at the windows, where a captain of artillery sat by a filthy table. One of the guards followed us into the room, and having locked the door established himself with his back against it. We all seated ourselves at the table.

Mehmed Effendi now remarked to the captain that the examination would be in French, and that a careful record must be kept. When I told him, however, that we could also speak Turkish, he was much pleased, and said that it would expedite matters to have the record in that language. He then gave us our first intimation of the cause of all this pother. In May, Mr. B. had sent three cases of merchandise to a commission agent at Tatar Bazarjik, the head of traffic on the European Turkey Railway. These boxes were to have been forwarded by the agent to a foreigner residing in a Bulgarian city. Almost as soon as the boxes had been shipped, came word of the outbreak in Bulgaria, and B. telegraphed to the agent, "In view of the pres-

ent situation, reship the boxes to this place." Mehmed Effendi held this telegram in his hands, and he wished to know what boxes were referred to, and what were their contents. Luckily I had heard at the time full details of the contents of the boxes, and of the anxiety to save them, which had culminated in the telegram. I was thus able to corroborate B. in every particular. The questions asked were very complicated, very searching, and frequently returned to ground already exhausted, as if to detect flaws in previous statements. The examination was interrupted for a moment by a loud rap on the door, accompanied by a voice announcing Mehmed Effendi's breakfast. The guard unlocked the door, and cautiously opened it wide enough to admit a small tray covered with various dishes. He leaned his gun against the wall, took the tray, and closed and locked the door again before setting the food before the great man. Mehmed Effendi apologized to us for eating, but remarked that he was obliged to breakfast while engaged in business, or he would have no time to breakfast at all. He then fell to with zest, but continued his questions interlarding them with mouthfuls of pilaf, red mullet, artichoke stew, and grapes, taken indiscriminately from the various dishes before him.

After Mehmed Effendi had exhausted the entire subject, he ordered the captain to read over his record of the examination. The voluminous document contained hardly a single question or answer in the actual words of the examination. The clerk had modified words in accordance with his own views of propriety, precision, or the interests of justice.

We were now requested to sign this record, which we

did, as it contained nothing very objectionable. After this we were preparing to depart, when Mehmed Effendi let us know that he had not yet done with us, and sent the captain with his papers on some mysterious errand, while he detained us with conversation upon the lights and shades of life in the department of the police. Half an hour more passed. By this time we were both thoroughly angry, and informed Mehmed Effendi that he would detain us longer at his peril. He smiled and asked us not to be disturbed, but said that the minister of police desired to see us, and would not be at liberty for some minutes. We retorted that the whole proceeding was a violation of our treaty rights as American citizens, and that unless we were released within ten minutes we would leave no stone unturned to secure the punishment of all concerned. Mehmed Effendi smiled but said nothing. However, in a few moments he arose and left the room, leaving us under charge of the guard. Shortly he returned and begged us to follow him to the presence of the minister of police. He took us to an upper room, very large and very well furnished, carpeted with Brussels and curtained with heavy red damask. In one corner of this room a venerable man of benignant aspect, dressed in the uniform of a lieutenant-general of the army, sat in a huge red velvet easy-chair. He arose as we entered, and came forward to meet us with many apologies for our long detention. His manner was courteous, and his French was unexceptionable, as he added that if ever again he had need of our services he would let us know. He then shook hands with us and bowed us out of the room.

On returning to B.'s office we found there one of the secretaries of the United States legation, who had been

summoned to attempt our release. Our friends had twice sent to the ministry of police to ask the cause of our detention, and had been told that no one could be allowed to communicate with us.

This experience gave us a realizing sense of the helplessness of natives who, unlike ourselves, have no legations to defend their rights when Turks choose to arrest them on suspicion. The fact that the commission agent at Tatar Bazarjik had been arrested for sympathy with the Bulgarian insurrection gave the police a reason for arresting Mr. B., who was in business relations with him. The fact that I was a friend of Mr. B. implicated me in his supposed guilt. Had we been subjects of the Sultan, we would have been put into the common prison to wait days or weeks for an examination. Being foreigners, we got off with the loss of a few hours, and never heard anything more about the matter. Now, however, we learn that the commission agent at Tatar Bazarjik, relieved by B.'s testimony from the accusation of conspiracy with Americans to supply the rebels with ammunition, has been able to buy for five hundred dollars his release from the Turkish prison.

August 31st.—Sultan Murad V. has been deposed, to make room for his brother Abd ul Hamid II. Again the fleet, decked in flags, thundered forth its salute. Again there was the rushing to and fro, the surging of the gaping crowd, the enthusiastic applause of the newspapers. But the people find their hearts unmoved. They find quite too much of the savor of funeral baked meats in the summons to be glad at the accession of a new Sultan, as a new era, only three months after the inauguration of the last new era. They have lately had a surfeit of sensations, and crave a little peace.

Sultan Murad was deposed upon a new rescript from the Sheikh ul Islam, which solemnly declares that insanity in the Commander of the Faithful is sufficient cause for his removal. So far as this is concerned, the document which legalized the deposition of Sultan Abd ul Aziz would have answered for the case of Murad. Although the cause of this revolution is officially said to be a mental derangement which followed the delirium of terror into which Murad was thrown by the assassination of the ministers, and which has left no other course but revolution open to a loyal and patriotic ministry, the people believe that Murad has merely proved less plastic in the hands of Mithad Pasha than was expected. Whatever the real cause of the change, there was little secresy about the accomplishment of it. The ministers decided the matter in full session, and did not even feel obliged to wait for night to screen their operations.

Abd ul Hamid, the new Sultan, is a man of whom little is known save that in his face he shows more character than his brother. His mother was a Christian by birth. She was an Armenian woman of great beauty, who attracted the notice of Sultan Abd ul Mejid and became a Moslem in order to share his favors. The face of the new Sultan has traces of the Armenian type, but this proves nothing as to his future conduct toward Christians. Popular report says that, having had no expectation of reigning, Abd ul Hamid has been more sober and practical than most Turkish princes in his mode of life; that he has kindly feelings for Murad, having long refused to supplant him; that he now regards himself as a mere temporary substitute for his brother, bound to abdicate when Murad recovers, and that he

has declared that Murad shall always eat at his table. These may all be true or they may all be false; for in Turkey the existence of a story does not necessarily imply its foundation in any morsel of fact.

September 20th.—Sultan Abd ul Hamid has issued his proclamation promising equal rights to everybody, and he has been to the Mosque of Eyoub and girded on the sacred sword with great pomp; but he has done nothing as yet to give color to his reign. His troops have been unfortunate in Montenegro, and have accomplished nothing more in Servia than to hold the Servians within their own territories. His treasury is empty, and his foreign relations are more and more complicated. The Sultan has abundance of material on which to work, if he is ambitious to carve out for himself a name in history; but he has said to his ministers that at present he is new to his business, and will do what they tell him to do. "But," he added, "by and by, when I see what ought to be done, I will give the orders, and you will have to execute them." This sentiment is quite proper in a sovereign, and a Sultan at that; but the picture which it presents to the mind, of a Sultan really ruling, is quite unusual in these days; and this remark of the Sultan produces a smile upon the ingenuous countenances of some of his subjects.

The situation of Turkey at this moment is most critical. The ministry are astounded at the outburst of indignation called out in England by the accounts of the outrages in Bulgaria. They quail before the storm of wrath, and know not what they ought to do; but they also sympathize with the anger of the common people against Europe, for accepting without hesitation everything that is said by any man who chooses to tell

a story to the prejudice of the Turks. It is demanded of the Government to punish the Pashas who commanded in Bulgaria during the insurrection; but these Pashas obeyed their orders to put down the revolt. These Pashas saved the Roumelian Railway and the great Bosnian highway, and prevented the revolt from spreading beyond the villages where it began. For their services to the Government the Pashas and many of their Bashi Bozouk coadjutors have long ago been rewarded. How can the ministry punish men who succeeded in the task which they were set to do, and who thus saved the empire from a peril which seemed to be deadly? This is the reasoning of the Turks. Moreover, they are not endued with any sensitive feelings to be oppressed by superlative violence on the part of their victorious troops. They probably do not know that this mode of dealing with rebellious subjects passed out of fashion some years ago. Had this not been the case, the Pashas would probably have taken the wise step of disowning the whole business upon the dethronement of Abd ul Aziz.

But, with characteristic impolicy, the Turkish ministry did no such thing. While endeavoring to defend itself against charges of inhumanity, it practically assumed the responsibility for what was done by Abd ul Aziz. At present it calmly proceeds with the trial and execution of Bulgarians charged with insurrection, convinced that any yielding to pressure from Europe would be undignified. Hardly a week now passes without the exile of scores of Bulgarians to distant parts of Asia Minor.

The Turkish newspapers are doing their best to urge the ministry forward in its present course. They are

boiling with rage. According to them, Mr. Gladstone's object in writing his indictment of Turkey is to stir religious feelings for a new crusade against Islam. In support of this they publish various articles from the English and Russian press which rail at the Turks as Moslems in religion. This crusade they declare to be a conception of the Panslavists, supported by the European Powers. The insurrection of Servia, timed so as to obstruct efforts at reorganization in Turkey; the free furlough given by Russia to officers desirous of entering the Servian army; the steps to stop the useless bloodshed in Servia now being taken by the Governments of Europe, are all quoted by these papers to prove a general determination to crush the Turkish empire, in order to expel from the homes of their fathers a peaceable, but Mohammedan, peasantry. In their present mood the Turks will hear no reason, for they feel that they have no difficulties to meet which are not founded in Christian hatred for Islamism. I have paid much attention to the conversation of the people. They are more and more inclined to desperate measures. Excited by a sense of the injustice done them by the general acceptance of Bulgarian descriptions of their moral characteristics, satisfied that this "new crusade" threatens a blind attack upon their faith, exasperated by the interest in the Bulgarians shown by those who may have been influenced by statements more or less partisan in character, the common people are ready on the slightest excuse to vent their wrath upon all who are of Bulgarian blood. Since the deposition of Abd ul Aziz, the Turks have left the Bulgarians, excepting the men under arrest as rebels, comparatively undisturbed. But now they talk with perfect coolness of exterminating them.

The response of the people to the violent language of the English journals is in the form of a remark which I have often heard: "We may be crushed, and we may be driven out from Europe; but if we cannot defend in our homes our right to worship God, in leaving them we will leave the whole land a desert." Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.

October 4th.—The great powers have made a formal demand for a cessation of hostilities against Servia and Montenegro, in order to give time for quieting the disturbances throughout the Balkan Peninsula. The Turkish ministry have, however, shown their accustomed shrewdness in device, by framing an answer intended at once to satisfy Europe that the Sultan is willing to yield, and to convince the people that he is stubbornly refusing to yield a point. The Turkish newspapers say that if this answer leads to war, the country is ready to fight all Europe in defense of its liberties. One of these papers has a long article to show that the outrages in Bulgaria can only be a pretext for the hostilities of Europe, since all law permits the execution of rebels. There is an element of misunderstanding on both sides in this question, which bids fair to convert it into a tragedy of errors.

October 18th.—The Bulgarians are in great terror. Turkish ruffians are using violence toward the villagers, and murders in the fields and on the roads have recommenced. Moreover in some quarters the Mohammedans have notified the Bulgarians that they are now to be exterminated. The wretched people are making frantic appeals to the English ambassador to protect them.

The negotiations about an armistice have taken a comic turn. Sir Henry Eliot called upon the Sultan

and convinced him that it is to the interest of Turkey to grant the armistice. This made the Grand Vezir sick, and for several days he refused to transact business. At length a brilliant idea occurred to him, and he recovered his health. He has now informed the foreign ambassadors that the armistice will be granted, as promised by the Sultan, but that the Sultan's promise referred to an armistice for six months, as the only form of truce to which Turkey can agree. Since Servia is known to be at the last gasp of financial exhaustion, an armistice for six months, by obliging the prince to keep his whole army in the field, would ruin the country as effectually as the ravages of a Turkish army. The Turks therefore show great enthusiasm in favor of this sort of a truce, and hope that Europe will accept the proposition.

October 21st.—There was a great ferment in the city yesterday. Rumors had pointed to the day as fixed for a general assault on the Christians, but the rumor has been disbelieved, since there are some fifteen foreign ships of war in the harbor. But some conspiracy was discovered, and great numbers of Softas have been arrested in consequence. It is said that the plan, whatever it was, included the deposition of the Sultan and a restoration of Murad V. to the throne. Troops are arriving in the city. The excitement among the people is still very great, and the Christians are again in a panic. But nothing has yet transpired that justifies any such panic. As for the real extent of the conspiracy and its object the Government is silent. It dreads the effect upon the people of published statements of such affairs.

October 28th.—The threatenings of war increase. The Russian consul has advised Russian residents of Constantinople to close up their business affairs here, so as

to be ready to withdraw from the country at a moment's notice.' This is like a bomb-shell among the peaceful native Christians, who have been lulled into security by the report that a conference of the European powers is to meet in order to find a peaceful solution of the questions at issue.

Meanwhile the Turkish army in Servia seems to have waked up since the European powers do not accept the plan of an armistice of six months. The Turkish armies operating against Montenegro have been completely defeated from the first, but in Servia they have uniformly succeeded in repulsing the enemy, though without decisive result. They have been lying idle for a month, but this week have defeated the Servians in a tremendous battle before Alexinatz, on the southern frontier of the principality. The Turkish dispatches claim a decisive victory, although the Servians have not been driven from their main position.

October 30th.—A new battle has been fought before Alexinatz, and the Turks, having outflanked the Servian position at Deligrad, have driven their enemy from the whole line. The dispatches say that the Servian army is disbanded. This statement must be taken with a little caution, but the capture of Alexinatz and Deligrad gives the Turkish army a clear road along the valley of the Morava straight to the capital of the country. The enthusiasm of the Servians for this war with a power which could without effort concentrate an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men in forty-eight hours upon any given point on their frontier, equaled in fire and in folly the enthusiasm of the Turks at their declaration of war. The awakening to the Servians has now come. The prince, who has just gone through the

comedy of accepting from his troops the title of king, is now entirely at the mercy of the Turks. The interference of Europe is what Turkey has had to fear throughout this Servian war, and the interference of Europe has proved itself too slow of motion to save the Servians from defeat. The jubilant Turks now feel themselves masters of the situation. Europe has been foiled, Servia conquered, and the way to settle the whole question on a basis favorable to the Sultan has been laid open.

October 31st.—The exultation of the Turks has been short-lived, for they have been rudely awakened from their dreams of victory. Last night Gen. Ignatief, the Russian ambassador, sent to the Grand Vezir an ultimatum demanding the instant arrest of the march of the Turkish troops in Servia, and the conclusion of an armistice for six weeks. If this is not done within forty-eight hours the ambassador will leave Constantinople.

The Turks are in consternation, but gnash their teeth in impotent rage at this interference to deprive them of the fruits of victory. Without one valid excuse, Servia declared war upon Turkey at a moment when such a war must necessarily destroy all hopes of adjusting, under a new ruler and a new administration, the difficulties which have threatened to reopen the Eastern question and ruin the empire. Russian public opinion favored the Servian war against Turkey. Russian money sustained it, Russian officers directed it. In all but open declaration of hostilities, Russia has fought Turkey in this war. The success of her Eastern policy has been staked upon the valor of the Servian troops. But the Servians have unexpectedly been routed, and

now Russia, treating Turkey as if guilty of abominable machinations, uses force to stop the advance of the Turkish forces upon this innocent Christian people. The astounded Turks ask if this is the justice of Christian nations. They have a right to be indignant!

November 2d.—For two days the fear of a war with Russia has filled the city, and has even made the Turks forget a little of their wrath. After General Ignatief delivered his ultimatum, he proceeded to pack up and send off his household goods. All day yesterday a stream of Turkish porters, each with a box on his back, was pouring forth from the Russian palace in Pera. These porters were carrying the ambassador's goods to the steamers in the harbor. With pallid faces people watched this ostentatious display of the great ambassador's purpose. Business was affected as if the end of all things was at hand. But during the day the Government yielded, and the troops in Servia were ordered to halt. The armistice is an accomplished fact, and the panic-stricken Servian army is saved. To-day General Ignatief is having his now famous boxes lugged back up the hill to his palace again.

December 23d.—Two months of negotiation have failed to diminish the strain of the crisis. The armistice has been prolonged, but the interference of Russia in the progress of the Servian war has had fruit in convincing the Turks anew that all European interferences are directed against the sovereignty of the Sultan. More than ever Turkey is now ready to oppose every European proposition, lest it be the thin end of a wedge to upset the Sultan's throne. Russia has mobilized six army corps "in the interests of peace," thus pledging further action, alarming Turkey, and arousing

England. England stands perplexed for a policy. She hesitates whether to yield to the distrust of Russian designs, which urges her to take up the defense of Turkey, or to the conscientious scruples as to Turkish morals, which urge her to leave Turkey to its fate. Her dilemma is embarrassing, but she has herself to thank for the fact that Turkey has not been, these twenty years, the docile pupil of British statesmen.

In such circumstances the powers of Europe have assembled to-day in the admiralty, on the Golden Horn, to discuss through their delegates the question of solving the difficulties between Turkey and its Christian subjects. The conference of Constantinople has been arranged almost under protest from the Turkish Government, and has to-day commenced its sessions.

But the Turkish Government, having been forced to accept this conference, is not by any means at the end of its resources. It has invented a new plan for silencing the carping critics of Europe. Three days ago, Mithad Pasha, who is still considered to be a reformer, was made Grand Vezir. This gave him liberty to introduce his scheme of constitutional government. So, to-day, as the conference was organizing in the hall of the admiralty, a salute of one hundred guns from the top of the hills beyond the Golden Horn announced the promulgation of the constitution of the Turkish Empire. The skies were dark, and rain fell in torrents, so that the great popular demonstration at the Porte, which was to have hailed the reading of the constitution, was limited to an assembly of clerks ordered out into the wet to represent the public. These poor fellows stood shivering under their umbrellas for nearly two hours, while a high official in the friendly

shelter of a portico, read the ponderous document. At the proper periods there was "tumultuous applause," and after the reading came fervent prayers for the long life of the Sultan, and for the prosperity of the empire. But everybody was too wet to be sentimental, and too doubtful as to the value of constitutions to be enthusiastic. As a pageant, the ceremony was a failure.

Nor did the constitution have the desired effect upon the conference. It was expected to convince the delegates of Europe that their work had been anticipated. Instead of closing their portfolios and returning to their homes, however, the hard-hearted diplomatists of Europe, paying no attention to the thunder of the cannon, proceeded in the most unfeeling manner to organize for business. They declined to recognize the renovation of Turkey thus easily accomplished.

Since this dramatic stroke of Mithad Pasha has failed to stop the conference, the Sultan must feel to-night that he might better have saved his paper and kept his liberty. Among the people, the constitution is variously received. Moslems shake their heads, but show no decided hostility to the document. Christians are listless and uninterested, except the Bulgarians, whose new political hopes would be dashed should Europe accept a reform of Turkish administration as a substitute for a Bulgarian government in European Turkey. Hence the Bulgarians denounce the constitution as an insult to Europe, and they ridicule the idea of a sovereign granting a constitution to his subjects, as something in itself opposed to liberty. The empire seems more than ever a Babel, in which every man speaks a language unintelligible to all his fellows.

The volunteers, sent from the city last July to fight

the Servians, have returned covered with laurels. They are a turbulent set of fellows. Yesterday, one of these fellows was swaggering through the streets, very drunk and noisy. He helped himself to the wares of a Persian dealer in cakes, and boxed the ears of their owner when he demanded money. A fight was about to commence when several well-to-do foreigners interfered and separated the combatants. Then the volunteer, a strapping fellow in wide trowsers of coarse homespun, and with a medal of honor on his breast and a silver crescent on his cap, steadied himself upon his uncertain feet and addressed the crowd. "I have been serving my country for three months," said he, "in the mountains of Servia and Montenegro. All I have received for this service is this wound (showing an ugly scar on his wrist). I have had no pay, no thanks, no nothing. And now I come back, and this wretched Persian, who has been comfortably peddling cakes all the time, wants me to pay him for a paltry mouthful of his wares. Of course I have to cuff him. But gentlemen, when I meet men of polish like yourselves, I am able to carry myself with the politeness which is due to you." Then, sweeping a most profound obeisance, the brave stumbled away. There is a good deal of hardship about the position of these volunteers. Under the terms of their enlistment, they received no pay, but the enemy's troops denied them the privilege of robbing the enemy's territory. Thus they are deprived of the rewards which the Government had promised them!

January 21st, 1877.—The conference has been in session nearly a month. Every day has had its new sensation on the side of peace or on the side of war.

At first, the conference seemed daily on the verge of

disruption. The Turks persisted in their efforts to have their constitution recognized as far better than any plan which the conference could devise for quieting the land. Failing in this, they next insisted that they ought to be excused from accepting any plan that clashed with the provisions of the constitution. The Russians long seemed determined to wrest from the conference decisions which must necessarily be refused by Turkey. But after a time the delegates seemed to receive new instructions. The tone of the discussions altered. Russia seemed cautious about provoking immediate war. Since Russia alone has ever threatened war, this caution made the Turks masters of the situation. The conference modified its demands, until at the last they contained little more than stipulations for an administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina like that of the Lebanon; for some semblance of local self-government in Bulgaria; and for a peace with Servia and Montenegro on terms which would involve a small cession of territory to the latter.

This alteration in the attitude of the conference was very displeasing to General Ignatief, the Russian delegate. The other day he said privately, "They call this arrangement for the government of Bosnia and Bulgaria autonomy. It may be so, according to the English definition of the word. But," he added with a mocking smile, "we shall have more to say about this after a little while, and then we shall open our dictionaries and find out what 'autonomy' really means."

The decisions of the conference were submitted to the Porte three days ago. Mithad Pasha again showed his fondness for stage effects by convening a monster council "of the nation," to consider the question of ac-

cepting the demands. To this council he invited not only the Pashas of all grades, and the higher grades of Moslem theologians, but representative men from the various Christian sects, and from the Jews of the city. To this council he presented the demands of Europe, and then remarked that acceptance of them would solve the present difficulty, but would establish a precedent for future demands, while their rejection would be to face the risk of a war, in which Turkey might be worsted. He then asked a candid expression of opinion from all present. The whole mass of delegates, after once learning what order of sentiment was pleasing to Mithad Pasha, gave utterance to patriotic demands for the rejection of the propositions. One man alone ventured to suggest deliberation before giving an absolute refusal to Europe. For this temerity he was treated by the Turkish officials with every mark of displeasure. He is in terror lest this displeasure take some dangerous form of expression. But many of the Christian delegates who, in the council of yesterday, were loud in favor of resistance to Europe, have remarked to this gentleman that they felt obliged to speak as they did, and have congratulated him upon his independence. The Christian members of the council would all vote against a concession to Europe which would secure to Bulgarians a special degree of freedom. Yet not one of them would lift a finger to save Turkey from the destruction that may result from the refusal to concede to Europe. And still, the most eloquent expressions of patriotic fervor and of loyalty to the Sultan made in the great council, were in the address delivered by a Christian and a Roman Catholic. These empty expressions are of the order of those used by Chris-

tians in the provincial councils everywhere. The Christians first learn the opinion of the presiding Pasha, and then give ardent and obsequious support to that opinion.

The custom of dissimulation in the presence of Turks is an incident to the condition of the subject races in this country. It often serves to develop the special characteristics of the various races. If a Turk of rank comes into a public place where gentlemen of other nationalities are present, he will be received with every mark of respect. In conversation, Armenians will be so anxious to show the identity of their political views with those of the great man, that they will continually garnish with exclamations of approval the unfinished sentences of the Turk. Greeks, forward in address, showing a self-assertion far more pleasing to the Turk than the sycophancy of the Armenian, will smile, and smile, and feed the man with subtle flatteries. Bulgarians will look from one speaker to another, courteous in attention, but silent, unless addressed. Jews seem to choose the office of pointing the remarks of the Turk with quaint bits of Oriental wisdom.

So soon as the Turk leaves such a party, all, with a look that is equivalent to a wink, gaze at each other in silence. Then the Armenian says:

"What an ass that fellow is!"

"Yes," responds the Greek, "a good-hearted fellow, but a fool. The sooner he gets into the paradise of Mohammed, the better for him."

The Bulgarian merely shrugs his shoulders.

The Jew has been picturing to himself the wrath which he will excite in the heart of the Turk when he privately repeats to him the remarks of these gentle-

men, Yet his desire to harmonize with his environment leads him sententiously to say:

"A Turk is a Turk, and you can't make a man of him!".

To the Turks the Armenians are unwilling but cringing servants; the Greeks double-faced friends; Bulgarians enemies under a thin disguise. As to the Jews, they at once utilize and dislike the Turks, but always side with them in controversies with Christians.

This dissimulation, found among all the subject races of Turkey, is not necessarily a permanent characteristic. It has been fostered through long centuries of hereditary ignorance, but it may be expected gradually to disappear as these people begin to learn that their Christianity, unless ennobling, is worthless. Still the characteristic now exists, often bringing as much advantage to the crafty as injury to the artless among the Turks.

In the case of this council the Christian representatives have played directly into the hands of the men who oppose the liberties of Christians. Mithad Pasha has been able to inform the conference that representative men of all races and sects have voted to reject its demands. In the presence, therefore, of such unanimity of view among the people of Turkey, the Government is compelled to refuse to follow the line marked out by the delegates of Europe.

Following this action came of necessity the dissolution of the Conference of Constantinople. But the defeated diplomatists of Europe have announced that the obstinacy of Turkey is to be punished by the simultaneous withdrawal from Constantinople of the ambassadors of the six guaranteeing powers. This form of punishment is original and, being alluded to as some-

thing very terrible to experience, is the source of some anxiety among the people.

The withdrawal of the ambassadors seems to mark the end of the effort to restrain by diplomacy the outbreak of the Eastern question. Yet it is also a cover used to screen the fact that beyond the efforts of diplomacy Europe cannot unite on the measures to be applied for the solution of this question. Any step looking to the armed coercion of Turkey may plunge Europe into war. The fear of this is the weakness of Europe.

CHAPTER II.

DRIFTING TOWARD WAR.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *Jan. 27th*, 1877.

THE stage effects of the solemn diplomatic drama now being played here seem fated to fail. The Turkish pageant of the promulgation of the constitution, at the beginning of the conference, was a dead failure. At the end of the conference, when the withdrawal in a body of the diplomatic corps was to strike terror into the hearts of the Turks, this also failed. After the solemn farewells had all been said, after the foreigners had renewed their assurances of high personal regard to the Pashas, after the city had been thrown into breathless expectation of the terrible result of this demonstration, the ambassadors were unable to leave. A tempestuous wind arose and threatened to make driftwood of any ambassadorial steamer that might leave the Bosphorus. Now, after a week of waiting, these great dignitaries are leaving their steamers here, and are slipping off, some by one route and some by another, amid the smiles of the populace.

Meanwhile, Mithad Pasha has ordered the provincial authorities to avoid anything that may excite the anger of Europeans, and has sent an Armenian gentleman to London to try to win the favor of England. On the whole, the result of a week's thought upon the tremendous penalty imposed on Turkey by the con-

ference, has been to convince the Pashas and the people that war is not necessarily inevitable. Among the people, some rely upon the failure of Europe to give support to the aggressive ideas of Russia; some suggest that Mithad Pasha is really intending to introduce reforms which will remove the cause for European interference. Others declare that General Ignatief has conducted separate and private negotiations with the Sultan while waiting for the wind to change, and that peace will be the result. All these various opinions have an influence in keeping the people of the city from the despair into which they would fall if there was a certainty of the speedy outbreak of war.

Turkey can ill afford a war. The country has never recovered from the disturbance to business caused by the stoppage, a year ago, of interest on the public debt. Trade is almost at a standstill. The soldiers are poorly fed and poorly paid. The general distress leads to an increase of highway robbery in the interior of the country. The robbers seem to have it all their own way. No one ever hears that one of them has been caught, or punished if caught. Even in the streets of the city robberies are becoming very common. Ladies walking in the European quarter of the city have had their purses snatched from their hands, or even their ear-rings from their ears. Here, too, the culprit always escapes. A similar insecurity is shown in all the letters that come from the interior. At Van, in Armenia, a fire broke out in the bazaar of the city not long since, and destroyed some hundreds of shops belonging to Armenians. The goods which were in these shops were saved by wild Kourds, who, in great numbers, suddenly appeared, stripped the shops, loaded their plunder upon

boats at the city wharf, and were allowed to depart in peace with their spoil. The loss of the Armenians of Van was about $2,000,000, but the local police made no effort to stop the robbers. The Government had no direct responsibility for this fire; but the local officials, who allowed the fire to be set and fed by the robbers, showed their utter incapacity to manage complicated cases of administration, in consenting to be baffled by these wild mountaineers. In Bitlis, some forty miles from Van, the people have been terrified beyond measure by the arrival of a large force of Kourds to protect the city. Many of the villages of the Bitlis district have been robbed by these wretches. Many farmers have lost their stock, and, in some cases, their haystacks. Yet the Turks make no effort to punish the marauders. The chief sufferers are Armenian Christians, and, while told that they cannot be protected by the Government, they dare not protect themselves, for fear of prosecution in the Turkish courts. In case a Christian was to shoot a Kourdish robber, he would be promptly arrested, his plea of self-defense would be set aside, and he would infallibly be found guilty of murder. The courts would be interested in such a case, because the Kourdish robber is of necessity a Moslem in religion.

At Marsovan, a thriving city of Asia Minor, some Circassians lately broke into a shop by night, but were driven away by the inhabitants. The security felt by these robbers was shown by the return of one of them, after a few minutes, to get a dirk which he had left in the shop. The people let him take it and go. They were Christians, and the Circassian was a Moslem and could not be touched.

The country is further disturbed through the peculiar usages of the Turks in regard to recruiting troops. Moslems alone are drafted for the army. The Christians of each district are made to pay a heavy tax in lieu of military service, but the conscripts make no account of this tax, and invariably regard the Christians as shirks. Hence, they make their departure for camp an excuse for all manner of depredations upon the property of Christians. They lay hands on goods in the stores, or in houses, and comfort the people whom they rob with the remark that Christianity ought not to relieve men from the burdens of war. The army officers in charge of such detachments do not restrain their men. The process of petty pillage is kept up along the whole line of march, and the arrival of a party of recruits at any town is commonly the signal for the closing of every shop. In Geghi, in Armenia, a band of these conscripts recently extorted $1,000 from the Christians of the place, besides taking quantities of clothing and provisions. This case was reported to the Government at Constantinople, and caused an inquiry into the truth of the story. The difficulty of obtaining redress, in such cases, is shown by the fact that the governor of the district has sent in a report, signed by all but two of the members of his council, which declares the whole story to be a fabrication. The two men who refused to sign this report were Christians, and have been threatened with all manner of pains for their obstinacy.

The last thing that a Turkish general considers is the means of transporting his baggage. He never has the means of moving his force; so he impresses horses on all hands. At the present time, when troops are in

motion in all parts of the country, the people feel this burden severely. The horses seized are used to carry the baggage of the troops a distance of perhaps one or two hundred miles, and their owners must follow them or lose them.

Not only Christians but Moslems are affected by the impressment of horses and cattle for Government purposes. Such burdens are always trebled by the course of the local authorities. These authorities turn every transaction to a money value in their private exchequer. If the service is to be paid for, the amount is duly charged to the Government, but the owners of the animals see none of the money. If the animals are to be impressed for unpaid service, the officials gather a hundred horses where thirty have been ordered, and a regular auction is held. Two-thirds of the muleteers are glad to pay a round sum to be let off from Government service. One-third, whose wretched poverty does not admit of bargains with officials, do the Government work, and the officials declare a ring dividend from the proceeds of the impressment operations.

But more than this, the Christians all over the land are in terror because the Moslems show a revival of their ancient haughtiness in various ways. These Moslems believe that Sultan Abd ul Hamid is going to make an end of European protection of Christians. Hence, they are in haste to taste the sweets of their privileges. In one place, I hear, the Moslems have recently begun to make a practice of dismounting every Christian whom they meet on the roads. They say that the day has now passed when Christians can ride on horseback in the presence of a Moslem. In other places the tax-gatherers are throwing unwonted brutality into

their methods of collecting taxes. In a little village in the Asiatic province of Harpoot, a tax-gatherer had an Armenian beaten in order to hasten his payments. The victim died within twenty-four hours, and the governor promptly made out a certificate, which was indorsed by all the members of his council, Christians as well as Turks, to show that the man died of *heart disease!*

The whole business interest of the country is further disturbed by the course of the Government in regard to its paper money. It has issued some eighty million dollars paper currency, which has been made a legal tender for all debts public and private, excepting customs duties. The people have a vivid recollection of an issue of paper money made in 1854, which was repudiated at the close of the Crimean War. Hence, they are extremely suspicious of this present issue. In order to give the paper money an appearance of special value, the sage man who stands at the head of the finances of Turkey, ordered that the money should circulate at thirty per cent. premium. That is, he decreed that a one dollar bill should be reckoned in trade at one dollar and thirty cents. Having issued this order, he put the money in circulation by paying it out to troops and officials, and dismissed the matter from his mind as one thing well settled. But in a day or two disturbances began to occur on all sides. The soldiers and employees who had received their pay in paper, naturally wished to encash their funds, and beset the money changers with demands for specie in exchange for notes. The money changers refused to part with their specie, the police insisted that they must accept the notes, and in three hours not one of the twelve thousand money

changers of Constantinople was to be found. Some of these luckless men of money were arrested and ordered to open their stalls again on pain of imprisonment. But they went to prison. Then the leaders of the guild of bankers represented to the Grand Vezir that they could not receive the caimé, or paper money, at the specified rate, because the European merchants and bankers refused to take it at par. The Government at last yielded to the inevitable, and arranged that the money changers should be allowed to conduct their business each day at the rate of exchange fixed by the stock board of Galata. But it stipulated that shopkeepers must receive the caimé at the thirty per cent. premium of the decree. The shopkeepers revised their prices to suit this order, and began to receive the paper as directed, but also let it be known that they would give better prices if payment was made in coin. Coin continued to circulate in competition with the paper, and the paper has ever since steadily depreciated. The Government attributes this depreciation to the wickedness of the Europeans in refusing to take Turkish paper at the rate of gold, and fails to see that it has set every one against the paper. In the hope of giving it ready currency in the interior, the Government has ordered the paper to be received for taxes. But in many places the officials force the people to pay taxes in coin, and then buy paper to remit to the Treasury. They thus make a profit of the premium, but they prevent the people from learning to use the paper money. Hence the use of this currency in trade is restricted to a small part of the empire, where its effect is to disturb all financial calculations and to destroy all enterprise among business men. The Government has been trying to extri-

cate itself from its financial straits by raising a new loan in Europe. But it has found that no new loans can be contracted while the interest on old loans is not paid. In this fact a fresh grievance is laid up against Europe.

Altogether the condition of the Turkish empire is not such as to fit it for enduring the strain of a great war. Yet the people feel that they are committed to war unless European political complications provide them with a way of escape.

For such a war the Government is making great preparations. Troops are moving continually, the reserves have been called out throughout the country, and all is bustle, not to say confusion, at the War Department.

January 30*th*.—A number of Hungarian students from Pesth have been in the city for several weeks past. They came here to exhibit the sympathy of Hungary for Turkey, and they were treated with the greatest consideration by the Turks. They were to return home, by the Danube route, last week.

The Roumanian students of Bucharest, however, made great preparations to salute these Turkish sympathizers with rotten eggs as they passed through the city. So the Hungarians prudently changed their route, going by steamer from here to Trieste. We now hear that the roughs of Trieste, who are largely Dalmatians and Slavs, hired boats to meet the steamer on its arrival, intending to give the Hungarians a hot reception on account of their relations to the Turks. The captain of the steamer was luckily informed of this, and lingered outside of the port until after nightfall. By this means Trieste was spared a riot, and the unhappy Hungarians were permitted to escape in safety. Hungary alone, of the various sections which make up the Austrian empire, is passion-

ately opposed to any policy toward Turkey which will give the Slavs opportunity for growth. But, this Hungarian opposition is serious enough to hamper the freedom of action of Austria. The Eastern question is doomed long to continue unsettled because of the complications of this class, which make any summary method of settlement impracticable. It is a Gordian knot which cannot be cut.

February 5th.—Mithad Pasha, the Grand Vezir, has been removed from office. He was summoned to the palace, ordered to give up the seal of office, and told that he must instantly leave the country. He was not allowed to communicate with his family, but was sent from the palace on board a Government steamer. The steamer moved out into the Marmora, and a boat was sent ashore with an official, who went to Mithad Pasha's palace to get clothing and other necessaries for the voyage. Then the steamer sailed away. The deposition of Mithad was unknown in the city until long after he had gone, untried, into exile. So much for the abolition of arbitrary government in Turkey. It is reported that the immediate cause of the fall of Mithad is that he tried to place the Sultan upon an allowance. The Sultan agreed to expend only a certain fixed sum every month for his personal needs, but having used up his allowance, he asked for more, like Oliver Twist. The finance minister, acting under instructions from the Grand Vezir, refused to furnish more money until more was due. The Sultan then sent an aid to Ghalib Pasha, the minister of finance, with the courteous inquiry, whether he imagined himself to be Sultan of Turkey. Ghalib Pasha could not resist this, and handed over the money, but by yielding brought on a scene with the

Grand Vezir, and was dismissed from office. In consequence of this the Sultan removed the Grand Vezir.*

The summary banishment of Mithad Pasha shows that the Sultan fears the strength of Mithad's friends. Yet the supporters of the fallen dignitary are very much weakened by natural causes. The wide difference of views among those who brought Mithad Pasha into office, insured the defection of influential men so soon as his policy was found to include the granting of civil rights to Christians in Turkey. Moreover the whole body of officials about the Porte desired Mithad's downfall. He had the reputation of being a hard master to the easy-going clerks of the various departments. He dismissed many supernumeraries, and required hard work from those whom he retained. Clerkships at the Porte are often granted for a consideration. It is no secret that Circassian slave girls are bought by office-seekers, and presented to high dignitaries, whose influence is thought to be of a decisive efficacy in matters of appointments. Against the whole of this system Mithad Pasha is said to have set his face with great firmness. A type of the class who have suffered from his severity is a clerk who has been employed for some years in the translation bureau of the department of foreign affairs, at a salary of $1,200 a year, and who was most unkindly thrown out by Mithad Pasha, because he could neither read nor write. The more honest class of Turks mourn the fall of Mithad, while the Christians see in his banishment, and in the arbitrary arrest of several of his personal attendants, proof that the Sultan is weary of the

* It is only fair to note that the Turkish Government has since caused this story to be officially denied.

new constitutional forms, which he accepted only as a means of calming Europe.

Mithad Pasha's successor is Ethem Pasha, the Turkish ambassador at Berlin. This appointment is supposed to be made in order to win favor with Germany, because Bismarck shows signs of taking a leading part in the settlement of the questions of the East. There is hardly any other assignable cause for the appointment, since Ethem Pasha has the reputation of being a nobody.

February 22d.—It turns out that the Grand Vezir Ethem Pasha has not as much influence with Germany as was expected. The Sultan decided to remove him in consequence of his lack of influence with Bismarck. The absurdity of such fickleness struck even the Turks, and led several leading Pashas into vigorous remonstrance. So Ethem Pasha, incompetent but tolerated for the sake of appearances remains for some time longer in office.

After immense discussion of terms, peace has at last been concluded with Servia. If concession to the Servians is any sign, the Porte would seem to be wavering in its determination to resist the demands of Europe. It has given the Servians their own terms. The Turkish armies are to evacuate Servian territory, leaving their vanquished enemies to recruit at leisure.

Peace with Montenegro is not so easily arranged, since the Montenegrins were on the whole victorious, and consequently demand substantial cessions of territory. Policy would seem to urge the Porte to rid itself of the Montenegrin question at any cost, but passion is stronger than policy. Both Pashas and people hate the Montenegrins with a hatred tenfold more bitter

since the defeats of this late war. Hence the conclusion of peace with Montenegro is very doubtful.

March 5th.—The shadow of war hangs over our city, and keeps it in constant unrest. The Pashas do nothing toward averting war, and the people feel that their destinies are in the hands of Europe. Upon Europe then all eyes are fixed. Telegrams of the most contradictory character come in from Europe every day. All these telegrams are read and believed until the next hour brings dispatches which unsettle all previous beliefs. For instance, one telegram says that Russia will not fight if Turkey makes peace with Montenegro. Another says that Russia will fight, and that Austria will support her. Then comes word from England, that the Emperor of Germany has said something which is equivalent to a guaranty of peace. Next a dispatch tells us that Montenegro has no intention of making peace, and is receiving war supplies from Russia. After a short time, we are alarmed by a dispatch from Bucharest which specifies the day on which Russia will declare war. Our feelings are promptly soothed, however, by the news that England has proposed to Russia to give Turkey a certain time in which to reform its internal administration. This is followed by the statement that the concentration of the Russian army is merely for purposes of military drill. Then all fond dreams of peace are rudely dispelled by a report of a conversation with a Russian diplomat, who explains that the whole object of Russian negotiations in Europe is to maintain peace in Europe during the war which the Czar is determined to make upon Turkey. So we live, one hour in hope and the next in despair, and all the while Turkey makes no move toward retiring from the

haughty attitude of self-assertion which has led it to refuse necessary reforms because they are proposed by Europe.

Meanwhile, the Sultan has announced that he is not weary of the constitution, but intends to abide by it as the supreme law of the land. The elections for the parliament of the empire, required by the constitution, have been made, and that august body is to meet in two or three weeks. In the interim, there being no parliament to enact laws, we are told that the old form of government by the will of the Sultan must needs continue.

The elections for parliament, as conducted in the city, show the Turkish idea of the uses of the ballot. The members elected by general suffrage to represent Constantinople were evenly divided between Moslems and non-Moslems. Of the non-Moslems three were Armenians, and only one was a Greek. Straightway the Greeks raised an outcry. The rights of Greeks could not be committed to Armenian Christians, and the people had no business to elect Armenians to the exclusion of Greeks. Then the Turkish Government sent word to two of the Armenians that they must resign. This they have done, and a new election is to take place, at which the necessity of electing another Greek is to be borne in mind by the docile electors.

War preparations continue. Two steamers with rifles and ammunition have lately arrived from America; while magnificent breech-loading cannon are arriving from Krupp's steel works at Essen, in Prussia. Troops come in from Asia Minor on crowded transports and disappear in the night, gone no one knows whither.

March 21st.—The first parliament of the Turkish

Empire has met. The assembly had not, however, the privilege of electing its speaker. Ahmed Vefik Effendi, the scholarly "recluse of Hissar," has been appointed by the Sultan to preside over that body. There was a grand pageant. The whole parliament went in a body to the Sultan's palace, and heard a speech from his own lips. The Sultan adjured the members to speak out clearly and fearlessly their views on the questions which might come before them. Then the two houses of parliament adjourned to their respective halls and commenced their sessions. Ahmed Vefik Pasha, in the assembly, opened the session by offering prayer. The assembly has met with two knotty questions growing out of the motley character of the population of Turkey. The speaker remarked that great loss of time would result if the assembly adjourned for the Christian Sabbath as well as for Friday, the Moslem Sabbath. Hence he proposed that, observing neither day, the assembly should regard its patriotic work as the highest form of religious service. This proposal created a hubbub, and it was only after the greatest difficulty that calm was produced by a vote to sit neither on Friday nor on Sunday. The poor Jews, of whom there are several in the assembly, were in too small a minority to succeed in carrying a motion for the assembly to observe Saturday also as a day of rest.

The other hard nut the assembly has not yet succeeded in cracking. This is the question of forming an "Opposition" party. No subject of the Sultan has yet been found so self-conceited as to presume to enroll his name as an opponent of that which is willed by his imperial majesty, the benefactor of his race, and the shadow of God. Yet there can be no spice to dis-

cussions in which all the speakers are upon the same side. It is said that Ahmed Vefik Effendi is making strenuous efforts to infuse into some of the members a daring that will impel them to come out as his own political opponents. Without an opposition what legislature can live? This anxiety of the authorities to have this parliament a faithful copy of European parliaments is another illustration of the superficial view which the Turks take of the whole reform question. They seem to fail to see any principle at stake. Reform is to them a question of imitating European methods. Because the Turks suppose that Europe demands a mere imitation of forms, they consider the demands of Europe doubly outrageous.

April 1st.—The long negotiations of Russia have at last resulted in a protocol on Eastern affairs, signed yesterday at London by the representatives of the six great powers of Europe. This protocol declares a European responsibility for the reform of Turkey, and a European agreement to see that the reforms are executed. By signing it Russia is understood to agree to act only in concert with Europe. The war is thus averted, and a great calm succeeds to our anxieties. The armies of Turkey and Russia are both to be disbanded, and every one will be happy except the Turkish Government, which is clearly threatened in the protocol in case it fails to reform. The Turks have practically been at hostilities with Russia ever since the departure of the ambassadors. They do not vary a hair's breadth from the position then taken up. If the peace is a reality, it is because Europe has induced Russia to hold her hand, not because the Sultan has receded from his intention to resist European inter-

ference in Turkish affairs. The Turks therefore feel no emotion over the protocol.*

Officers from Montenegro have been fruitlessly negotiating with the Turks for some time. Their demand for a cession of territory has been refused on the extraordinary plea that the constitution binds the Sultan not to cede territory. The Government has now proposed to the Montenegrin delegates to delay a few days while the question is submitted to the new-fledged parliament.

April 13th.—The assembly has rejected, by a unanimous vote, the proposal to cede territory for the sake of peace with Montenegro. The hatred of the Turks for this plucky little principality is a wild passion, and this vote of the assembly was a foregone conclusion. The Montenegrin delegates go home at once. Those who remember that Russia intimated, some months ago, that peace between Turkey and Montenegro would be the signal for a dispersal of her army, feel anxious. The skies are not so peaceful as they were ten days ago. The stock exchange has almost suffered a panic to-day because war seems as likely as ever. We always receive

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* A review of the political situation, sent by the Sultan to his ministers just after the declaration of war, points out to them the fact that before the protocol of London was signed, he had advised that the Russians be requested to withdraw their forces from the Pruth; and that he did this in order to precipitate a crisis in which Russia alone would be concerned. The ministry overruled this advice, and was consequently placed by the signature of the protocol in the position of having to refuse the formal demand of all the European powers. This position was diplomatically very much worse for Turkey than that which she would have held had she prevented the signature of the European agreement by forcing Russia to declare war before the negotiations in London were complete.

our latest news from the Porte by way of Europe, and the fall in stocks has been caused by a report from Europe that Turkey has protested against the protocol of London.

April 23d.—The Russian agent here has notified the Porte that he has received orders to break off relations at once. The Turkish ambassador at St. Petersburg telegraphs that he has been invited to leave that city, as the Czar has decided to make war upon Turkey.

The archives of the Russian consulâte and of the embassy were taken to steamers in the harbor this afternoon. The great double eagle on the roof of the Russian palace, mounted on hinges with prudent forethought, has been folded back behind the parapet. Covers of black oilcloth were drawn over the smaller bronze eagles of the palace gateway. The two Russian dispatch boats then steamed slowly out of the harbor, went up the Bosphorus, and disappeared from the eyes of the great throng of sightseers. When the steamers had gone, it was observed that not a single Russian flag was to be seen among the shipping in the harbor. Then only did the people realize that peace has given place to war!

[Ahmed Mithad Effendi, the official annalist of the Turkish empire, makes the following statement of the condition of the Turkish army at this time:

The whole force under arms at the outbreak of the war was 494,397 men, with 138 batteries of field artillery, and with about 1,000 siege pieces of various calibers.

In the arsenals and in the hands of the troops there were 334,000 Martini (Peabody) rifles; 323,000 Snider rifles; and 39,000 Winchester repeating rifles.

Roughly speaking, the disposition of the troops was as follows:

186,000 men in Bulgaria and on the Servian frontier.

70,000 men in Armenia, with 20,000 more at the seacoast fortress of Batoum.

107,000 men were in Herzegovina, Bosnia, and Albania.

100,000 men were scattered in garrison through Syria, Mesopotamia, Thessaly, Epirus, and Crete.

20,000 men were in garrison at Constantinople.

During the progress of the war 160,000 new troops were raised, and about 100,000 Martini rifles were received from America.

It will be noticed that at the commencement of hostilities the Turkish Government could use but little more than one half of its whole force to repel the attacks of the Russians. Almost one half of the Turkish army was idly passing its time at points far from the seat of the war.]

CHAPTER III.

BEGINNINGS OF WAR.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *April 26th*, 1877.

THE Assembly was in session when the news of the declaration of war arrived from St. Petersburg. The minister sent the dispatch to Ahmed Vefik Effendi, the president of the Assembly, and the session was at once suspended. In the hall were Moslems, Christians, and Jews; men in plain European broadcloth, men in Oriental robes of gorgeous colors, men with white turbans, with green turbans, and with the high pointed yellow felt hats of the Whirling Dervishes. All these people united in vigorous amens to the prayer of the president, and followed his lead in declarations of enthusiastic sympathy with the Government. To read the reports of the fervid addresses of this session of the parliament, one would suppose that the Christians of Turkey are interested quite as much as the Moslems, in the resistance to reform. Unfortunately, in public the Christians of Turkey talk on one side, and in private they talk on the other side.

The Porte has called upon Roumania, as a vassal of the Sultan, to resist the advance of the Russian army. But Roumania has a grievance against Turkey, which has been the subject of negotiation for two or three months, and which will serve as a cause of war now that war is desirable for Roumania.

The first battle of the war has been fought near the Black Sea fortress of Batoum. The road from the Russian frontier lies through a perfect Thermopylæ of a pass, and the Russian army has been repulsed by the Turkish irregulars, who hold this pass. Farther south the Turks were completely surprised. Without a struggle the Russians entered upon Turkish soil, and they are closing in upon the fortresses of Kars and Ardahan. They have also taken without a battle the fortress of Bayazid, under the shadow of Mt. Ararat. The Turks are indignant because the Russian advance began the instant the declaration of war had been made. They expected a few days' notice to enable them to prepare the minds of the commanders in charge of the frontiers.

The war is not the only anxiety of the ministers of the Sultan. The price of stocks has gone down with a rush. Government bonds of £100 are to-day for sale in Galata at £8½. The caimé, or paper money, has also fallen, and this has raised a bread question in the city. Bakers are obliged to sell bread at a price fixed by the Government. As the caimé has depreciated about sixty per cent., the authorized price of bread does not cover its cost. The bakers therefore closed their shops and the populace went supperless to bed. A bread famine has existed for three days, during which time people have gone without, or have bought bread surreptitiously at fabulous prices. The ministry has considered the matter, and has been forced to allow the bakers to increase their prices enough to give them their usual profit.

To calm his mind amid such anxieties, and to derive energy for pushing the war, the Sultan yesterday went in state with the Sheikh ul Islam to the treasury of the relics of the Prophet. These relics consist of a cloak,

a shoe, and one or two other valuables, which once belonged to Mohammed. The Sultan must visit the building on the Seraglio Point, where these relics are kept, at least once every year. In the interval between these official visits, he has recourse to the sight of the holy remains whenever, as at present, his royal soul is disturbed by the course of events.

May 4th.—The excitements of war time begin to appear in the shape of volumes of gossip concerning the war. The Government, true to its instincts, suppresses all news from the army. The field is thus left clear for the newsmongers of the Pera coffee shops, who hourly announce incidents which have "come in a cipher dispatch from Europe." The tenor of these dispatches is always adverse to the Turks, and although the Moslem part of the population, along with the Christians, hang breathless upon the lips of the important being who for the moment chances to be chief retailer of gossip, yet they shake their heads and walk away, hoping against hope that the stories thus retailed are fabrications. The latest of these coffee shop stories was told with great relish by some of the English residents of Pera. It set forth that Hobart Pasha, the Englishman who has charge of the organization of the Turkish fleet, was coming down the Danube on a gunboat, and was ignominiously blown up by a Russian torpedo. This story was being repeated to me, on one of the Bosphorus steamers, this afternoon, when I chanced to notice a burly Turkish officer who was coming on to the steamer from the bridge. It was Hobart Pasha himself. Having run the gauntlet of the Russian batteries on the Danube with his steam yacht, he had just arrived in good health. In order to counteract the effect of the gossip of Galata,

the War Department to-day issued an extra with news that the Russians had been repulsed in another effort to force their way to Batoum. A score or two of newsboys were collected by the police, and were furnished with copies of the extra in Turkish and in French. Then they went tearing through the principal streets yelling "Ilavé!" which is the Turkish for "extra." The tone and the manner showed violent emotion; crowds of people flocked about the newsboys to buy their wares. As the battle cannot have been more than an affair of outposts, the public feels however that it has been egregiously swindled by the stage emotions of the newsboys. The Government forgets that its people are entitled to its confidence. But the Government is not altogether dead to the needs of the people. It prides itself upon being a paternal government, and having seen in some scientific paper a statement that a new comet has appeared in the skies, it makes haste to inform its subjects that this comet is not a thing to be feared, even though coming just at the outbreak of a war. This in the official journal of the empire!

Another token of the regard of the Government for its subjects is presented in a decree just issued, which sets apart a certain sum to be used for the purchase of paper currency. The paper thus redeemed is to be publicly burned each month. This destruction of paper money is expected to arouse public confidence in the value of that which remains in circulation. But the populace is suspicious enough to receive this mark of the benevolent intentions of the Government with the suggestion that nobody can tell how many new caimés will be issued for every old one that is burnt!

A terrible tale comes from a village of Asia Minor, of

a young Turk who fell in love with an Armenian girl. The girl was engaged to marry a young man of her own race, and, in order to shut the mouth of the Turk, she hastened the time of her marriage. On the wedding night the Turk broke into the house of the newly-married pair and killed the bride in her bed. Complaint was made to the authorities, but the murderer was not arrested. Moreover the Moslem Imam of the village remarked that the deed was well done, and that if all Armenian infidels were to have their throats cut, it would be better for the country. The Government has to-day published the statement that it has had punishment for this crime duly administered. This punishment consists of imprisonment for the murderer, and of an injunction to the Imam not to say such things any more.

May 16th.—The Turks are greatly delighted over news of a new repulse of the Russians before Batoum. They gloat over the figures given. The question of the strategical value of a victory never concerns the people, but the thought that three or four thousand Russians have been killed is rolled over and over like a luscious morsel. A man, who has won himself renown in the battles before Batoum, bears the euphonious name of Chourouk Soulou Ali Pasha. He seems to be a born guerilla. When thirteen years of age he accompanied his father on a night expedition against a small Russian fort on the Black Sea coast, and was the first to scale the walls. The daring thus displayed, during the Crimean war, has now enabled him with his band of Bashi Bozouks to hold the Russian advance guard at bay, while the slow-moving regulars have been making their deployment. He has been promoted and decorated for his gallant

conduct, and the Turkish newspapers are full of his praises. Batoum is the principal seaport in the south-eastern part of the Black Sea, and the Russians have always coveted it for this reason. At present it is the base of supplies for a large part of the Turkish army, besides forming a convenient base of operations for the fleet. Hence the vigorous efforts of the Russians to capture the place. A Russian torpedo boat was sent into Batoum harbor a few nights ago, and the Turkish fleet was filled with dismay, firing wild broadsides into darkness in the hope of hitting the little stranger; but it escaped in safety, and accomplished nothing greater than to throw the whole place into a panic. The Turks have now attempted to relieve the army at Batoum from pressure, by sending an expedition to the coast of the Caucasus. The city of Soukhoum Kalé has been taken from the Russians, and quite a formidable rising against the Russians has occurred among the Mohammedan inhabitants of the region. The Turks expect to accomplish great things here, by exciting an insurrection throughout Circassia; but it is difficult to see what can be done in this line, since Soukhoum Kalé lies in a narrow strip of land between the sea and the gigantic mountains, which, like a huge wall, shut off access to the interior. Moreover, the people of the coast, though called Circassians, are in reality Abkhazes, a very different race from the Circassians whom the Turks desire to reach.

In order to make the war popular with the Moslems, the Sheikh ul Islam has issued a rescript, in which he declares that the Czar, by attacking Turkey, has come under the ban of the Prophet, and has subjected himself to the verse of the Koran which commands, "Kill

him, in the name of God." Hence, this war is declared a Jihad, or a godly effort of the people. After this rescript, no man who engages in this war, can do so from selfish motives. He must act solely from devotion to God. At the same time every Moslem is obliged to hold himself ready to participate in the sacred effort. An example of the spirit to which this rescript appeals, is seen in the case of an old Turk living in the suburbs of Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. He has raised a battalion of eight hundred and seventy-five men. He has uniformed and will feed and pay them until they are called to active service. This patriot expects to receive a long credit mark in heaven for every Russian killed by the men of this battalion. But, in spite of its religious element, the war does not open favorably for the Turks. The *Loutf-i-Jelil*, one of the largest ironclads of the Turkish flotilla of the Danube, has been unlucky enough to encounter a Russian shell, which entered the powder magazine and blew the ship to pieces.

Roumania has declared war against Turkey. Prince Charles has hitherto temporized, avowing his inability to resist the Russian advance. Now, however, the Russian army is arriving at the Danube, and can protect Roumania from Turkish raids. So war is declared, and it has come out that Prince Charles signed an agreement to act with Russia, a week before the Czar made his declaration of war. It is now said that the Sultan urged his generals to occupy Roumania as soon as Russia declared war, but that the ministry objected to this course, in order to avoid political complications in Europe. The Pashas now bitterly regret their decision. They gained nothing by it, and lost the opportu-

nity of making Roumania, instead of Bulgaria, the battle-field.

May 20th.—Affairs on the Armenian frontier seem to be going badly for the Turks. The fortress of Ardahan, which protected the flank of the great fortress of Kars, has been taken by the Russians. The Turks with great simplicity explain that the cause of the disaster is that the Russians put cannon on a hill which commanded the fortress, but where no one had ever put cannon before. The fact is that Muhtar Pasha, who commands the forces in Armenia, arrived at the front only two weeks before the declaration of war. He must then have been in a somewhat confused frame of mind, since he had been civil governor of. Herzegovina, and afterward of the island of Crete, within the two months next preceding his appointment to this important military command. He can hardly have had time to learn what troops were comprised in his command before the Russians attacked his line. The Turks, with their usual sublime trust in Providence, had made no serious effort to complete their preparations for defense. The hill which cost them Ardahan was neglected, because it would cost some labor to fortify it. Bayazid, on the other flank of their line of defense, was not even garrisoned, because a Kourdish chief had promised to occupy the place with ten thousand men if war should be declared. Kars itself, the bulwark of Armenia, was not properly provisioned, and the Russians have been allowed to supply their own fortresses during the last few months by purchasing all the grain in the country about Kars, so that the Turks can now get supplies to the place only by a long and painful journey from Erzroom. "How should the governor of Kars know that the wheat would be re-

quired for his own uses?" said a Turk to me to-day. "He is not a prophet that he should foresee war!"

So Muhtar Pasha has had a very hard time of it. The Russians had captured Ardahan before he knew that it had a hill which ought to be fortified. They had possession of Bayazid long before the Kourd, whose business it was to defend it, had learned of the declaration of war. As to Muhtar himself, he went to Kars, and sent out a division to watch the movements of the Russians. But the troops had hardly left the city before they reappeared at the double-quick breathlessly announcing that the war had begun. The Cossacks were at their heels, and attempted to screen the movement of the Russian infantry, which began to march by Kars, striking out boldly for the passes of the Soghanli Mountains half way between Kars and Erzroom. The two passes through these mountains contain the only roads in the whole range which are practicable for artillery. Upon learning what the Russian army was doing, Muhtar Pasha dropped his preparations for the deployment of his forces, and taking three thousand men with him, he also began a forced march toward the Soghanli passes. His column for six hours raced with the Russians on a parallel road, and won the race. The Russians have a respect for these passes, having tried their quality in previous wars. So they gracefully yielded the possession of them to Muhtar when they found that the Turkish troops had outmarched them. But Muhtar Pasha's telegram shows his lack of preparation. He gives no name of place, but says, "there is no telegraph where I am," and then plaintively wails over the sufferings of his little force, wanting shelter, and even wanting bread. However, Muhtar makes up in faith what

he seems to lack in energy, for he says, that "confiding in the mercy of the God of victory, and in the spiritual aid of the Prophet, under the shadow of the Sultan," he expects soon to be able to defeat the Russian army.

Large numbers of Bashi Bozouks have been sent to the aid of Muhtar Pasha. These Falstaffian hordes are supposed to add to the effectiveness of an army, but their room is always better than their company, and never more so than on the battle field. At present the streets of Erzroom swarm with them. The Bashi Bozouks employed in Asiatic Turkey are generally Kourds or Circassians, and these fellows are rendering miserable the lives of the shopkeepers of Erzroom, by constant pilfering. They take almost anything, but mainly steal what will help them in their military career—gunpowder, blankets, or boots and shoes. The Circassians are the great thieves of foot gear. They are generally mounted, but the riding boots which they make themselves are in two parts. The lower part, which covers the foot, is a single piece of leather, sewed from the instep to the toe, and at the heel. There is no sole, and aside from these two seams, no other stitching about the thing. The upper part of the boot is a separate buskin of leather, which fits closely to the calf of the leg, and admits the weather at the point where it ought to be joined to the shoe. Doomed to wear such covering for the feet, the Circassians naturally covet and steal the well-made boots which hang in front of the stalls of the Armenian shopkeepers of Erzroom.

Aside from the bad news from the war in Asia, there is no news of importance beyond the usual daily rumor that the Russians have crossed the Danube.

May 25th.—The fall of Ardahan has made a deep im-

pression upon the mind of the populace. This feeling showed itself yesterday in a demonstration in the parliament made by the Softas of the city.

The parliament sits in a great building at the head of the Divan Yoli, a street which is now, as it was (under another name) in the time of the Roman empire, a great artery, several miles long, which leads from St. Sophia, past the War Department, through the heart of the city to the gates of the great wall which limits Constantinople on the land side. The building was erected for a university, which never existed, except on paper. In front of this university, the street is very wide. On the right is the heavy mass of the mosque of St. Sophia, and on the left, a few hundred feet beyond, is the hippodrome, with its ancient monuments. This broad street in front of the university was yesterday afternoon filled with a mass of fierce-eyed men, all wearing the white turban peculiar to students of the Holy Law, and surging up in disorder toward the gates of the building. Everybody in Constantinople, Moslem as well as Christian, is afraid of the Softas, as men who live apart, enwrapt in study, and capable of any wild vagary. So the appearance of this excited crowd speedily emptied the numerous coffee shops of the colonnade under the university. The placid loungers fled in dismay before the possibility of a disturbance. The sentries at the gates of the university, like diplomats at an unexpected crisis of the Eastern question, "had no instructions" for such an emergency, and so dared not use force to keep back the mob. The Softas pressed into the building, thronged the staircases, and overpowered the captain of the guard at the door of the parliament hall. After a vigorous discussion, this worthy officer consented to

admit eight or ten Softas to the floor of the assembly. Accordingly that body was shortly startled by the appearance of a group of Softas, who announced in strong language that the war was being feebly conducted; Ardahan had been taken by the enemy; the army on the Danube was doing nothing; and they had come on behalf of the nation to ask what parliament is going to do about it. The assembly was astonished and somewhat anxious in the presence of this interruption, and Ahmed Vefik Effendi, the presiding officer, was not equal to the occasion. He told the Softas that parliament is inquiring into the loss of Ardahan, and from the vantage ground of his lofty pulpit, he argued with them for some time. Finally, calling them his lambs, as the Turkish idiom of familiarity requires, he advised them to be calm, and to wait for the victories, which all hope to see. The Softas then withdrew, and after some animated conversation in the street in front of the building, the crowd dispersed, satisfied that a great deed had been done.

After the Softas had departed, the president of the assembly realized that the parliament had been insulted. He suspended the sitting, and went to the Sultan's palace where he remained for some time in consultation. As a consequence of this, martial law, in the interest of constitutional government, has to-day been declared in the city. About forty of the leaders of the Softas have been arrested and sent into exile, while a semi-official paragraph in the papers states that the parliament has taken the place of the Softas in responsibility for the interests of the people.

May 28th.—The most remarkable feature of this war is that it furnishes the local papers with no items of

news. The war has been in progress for a month, and yet no feat of arms has been attempted by the Turks. All seems absolutely quiet on the Danube, and nothing new has been published concerning the fortunes of Ahmed Muhtar in Armenia. The Government has stringently prohibited the publication of private intelligence from the war. At the same time it professes to publish everything worthy of note which transpires. The official bulletins of the Government are remarkable for style and for the triviality of their contents. They never, by chance, give a geographical detail which would enable the people to judge of the importance of the circumstance narrated. Often all that appears is the name of some village, whose location must be guessed, with some such information as this: "The battle lasted three hours, and, glory to God, five of the enemy were killed, and as many more were wounded." A little more detail has been afforded us in the account of the recent destruction of another monitor by torpedoes on the Danube. But the language is charmingly vague after all, excepting in its vociferous piety.

"The steam launches drew near," says this dispatch after a long preamble, "and may God defend the remaining ships of our fleet!" This sentence tells the whole story to an Oriental, but the dispatch continues: "At this moment, a torpedo of the kind called a fish, struck the ironclad "Seif Ullah" (sword of God) and exercised an influence upon her stern, which caused her to sink. But, thanks be to God, all on board escaped alive. This sad event was doubtless necessary, having been decreed of the Almighty, who however follows defeats by victory!"

The Government dispatches always dwell largely

upon the numbers lost by the enemy, as if this was the main point of interest in a battle. For instance: "We lost ten martyrs and twelve men wounded. Of the enemy three hundred were sent to perdition, and as many more were wounded; a fact which we can only ascribe to the aid of the Prophet and to the favor shown of God to his majesty the Sultan, in whose shadow a universe finds refuge."

The Government issues two sets of these precious bulletins. One set is printed in French, for the Europeans, and one in Turkish, for the native newspapers. It is in the Turkish edition of the bulletins that the most interesting reading is found. These official bulletins, far from convincing the populace that nothing more important is occurring, lead all classes into the suspicion that vastly more has transpired than the condition of the Russian armies could warrant. Rumors are rife among the people, especially among the Christians of the city. These rumors often ascribe decisive victories to either side, for the Christians of Turkey have little more affection for Russia than for Turkey. They are like the woman who watched the struggle between her husband and the bear with impartial willingness for the success of either.

Notwithstanding the silence of the Turkish Government, those of us who have private sources of information know that a critical moment is at hand. The Russian army in Roumania is pretty nearly ready to try to cross the Danube, while in Armenia, the Russians are marching from Bayazid to pass the right flank of Muhtar Pasha, so as to strike Erzroom while the Turkish army is still occupied at the passes of Soghanli.

June 4th.—The Kourds, who caused the loss of Baya-

zid to the Turks by their failure to appear as promised, have taken the long delays of the Russian advance as an indication of Russian inferiority, and have at last cast in their lot with the Turks. They acknowledge, however, that what they want is plunder, and that if the Turks are driven back they will aid the Russians. About four thousand of these interesting auxiliaries have been assembled at Van, in Armenia, and we now begin to receive accounts of their amenities of behavior. An Armenian village near the Bargiri camp has been utterly wiped out of existence. In another village near Van, the men, hearing of the approach of the Kourds, put their women in the church, securely barricaded it, and then fled to the mountains. One hardly knows which to execrate the more, these cowardly miscreants who deserted the women, or those cowardly wretches who forced the church doors and did what they would with the poor creatures within, and then stripped them of their clothing, and loaded up their pack-horses with the booty for the fierce-eyed Kourdish women of the mountains. In the city of Van the Kourds have full control. The Christians dare not go out of sight of their houses without a guard, and even when they have one, the Kourds often strip both the guard and his convoy. The Circassian's inordinate love is for shoe gear. That of the Kourds is for clothing. They halt a man, make him strip, and carry off his clothes to search his pockets at leisure. An Armenian merchant was stripped in this way the other day in one of the suburbs of Van, and managed to get an old cloak to cover himself withal, while he hastened to complain to the Governor. At the gate of the city he was halted by another party of Kourds, who stripped him a second time, and he gave up his quest after justice.

The American missionaries of Van have sent their wives and children to the Patriarchal Island Monastery on the lake. As they were about to go, some two hundred Kourds surrounded them on the wharf, insisting that they must be Russians, and as such ought to be plundered. It required all the persuasive eloquence of the guards whom the Pasha had sent with them, and of the Kourdish servant who accompanied them, to induce these ruffians to stay their hands. The Americans were allowed to pass, however, unhurt.

The Kourds are daft on the subject of Russian spies. They came near killing one poor wretch the other day, after a very democratic court-martial, in which the prisoner was lying on his back, and his captors were literally sitting on him. The only proof of guilt in this case was the fact that the man had a long beard, which it appears is not in style in Van, at least except for Russian spies. At Bitlis, on the other side of Lake Van, matters are not much better. There is one American family residing there with two unmarried ladies who teach in a school. These people are as closely confined to their house as if in prison, because it is unsafe to venture into the street. Four villages in the outskirts of Bitlis have lately been plundered. The pass in the mountains on the road toward Erzroom is regularly occupied by Kourds, who plunder every caravan that tries to get through. A messenger with letters and money for the army was robbed the other day by these fellows with a high-toned impartiality. The Governor of Van is a good man, honest, and capable. Wherever he has been he has always borne an entirely exceptional reputation for justice and integrity. He is, however, helpless here. The Kourds insult him to his face. He has

no troops with which to control them, and troops cannot be spared from the battle-field for any secondary work like protecting the Christian villages. In fact, unless the Russians advance soon, there will shortly be no villages to protect.

June 6th.—The anxieties of the Pashas are very great, because of the failure of revenue which has followed the long disturbance of the business of the country. Various measures have been devised to meet the emergency, and all of them show the characteristic Turkish lack of foresight. Orders have been issued to enforce the collection of a tax on real estate in the city, and to collect for two years in one the tax on sheep. As the tax on sheep is already very heavy, and strikes a large element of the resources of the farmers, this decree cannot but add to the distress of the country. The ministry is also seeking to raise funds by appeals to benevolence. Such appeals have been sent out to all Mohammedan countries excepting Persia, which does not recognize the Sultan as Caliph. A large number of tickets have been printed, and are to be offered to all the people, Moslems and Christians alike, in exchange for contributions to a war fund. Moreover, the parliament has appointed a committee to solicit subscriptions for a separate fund to be used in arming the population of the Caucasus, in case the attempt to excite insurrection against Russia is successful in that region. In order to encourage the people in benevolence, it has been announced that the Sultan has commenced to economize. His economies have already begun with the reduction of the number of courses served at the palace dinners. More than this, the Pashas and rich Turks of the city have been requested

to aid the war by giving up their extravagances in the matter of fine horses. This request was fruitless, and has since been reduced to the more practical form of a decree which ordered the surrender for army purposes of all the private horses in the city, with a fine for non-compliance. Of course, this order does not affect any foreigners; but we have had during the past week the edifying spectacle of ministers of the Government, and other dignitaries, walking the streets because their horses had all been given up to the army. Long processions of magnificent imported carriage-horses have filed through the streets toward the artillery barracks, and the Government has doubtless thought that the populace would thus be impressed with the self-denial of the higher classes. But the people are hard-hearted and slow to believe in the honesty of the officials. After a day or two, it was announced that public business was hindered while ministers were compelled to walk to the palace or to their offices. So the papers soon recorded the fact that the Sultan has given new horses to the ministers, and now the number of private carriages in the streets is daily increasing. Meanwhile, the common people smile and consider the whole affair a good joke. But, although the people think that no real seizure of horses took place, some eight hundred and fifty fine animals have thus been transferred to the army. Some of these horses are well-matched spans, worth from $500 to $1,000 each. It seems a sad waste to put such material into the artillery; but the Government dares not order a sale of the horses, because it knows that the proceeds of the sale would cling to the fingers of the officials who conduct it. Such little obliquities of conduct must be always provided against by the

ministers who, in sore distress, are seeking means to carry on the war.

Added to the financial difficulties of the Government are its military burdens. The generals in command have, as yet, given proof of possessing more zeal than common sense. The Government, therefore, feels impelled to direct the movements of the armies, and has formed a council of distinguished officers in this city to direct the conduct of the war. The generals in the field are all to wait upon the orders of this council. A more effectual device for suppressing any talent possessed by individual officers could hardly have been invented by even Turkish stupidity.

Meanwhile the process of recruiting is pushed with some vigor. Moslems from all parts of the land are coming up to take part in the war, either in bands of conscripts or as individual volunteers. Others from distant parts of the Mohammedan world are arriving to lend their aid to the Caliph of Islam. These people come with devotion, but without enthusiasm. They allow no flights of imagination to disturb their minds, since they believe that what is to be, is decreed in advance. They seem to come impelled by fate, and awaiting the fulfillment of the divine decrees. This sense of subordination to a higher power is most noticeable among all the Turks at this time. The feeling governs all from the humblest private to the highest general. And when a general is surprised out of his inaction by finding that the Russians have outflanked him, or have made use of some other infidel device for disturbing the peace, he can calmly accept the result as a decree of the Almighty. The belief in foreordination thus becomes a source of moral strength for all these holy warriors.

The advent of so many strangers to the city has added to the motley appearance of the crowds upon the streets. There are Moonshies from the East Indies, dressed in red broadcloth robes, and with their meager olive-colored faces set off by snow-white turbans. There are Tunisians in delicate silk robes, and with bare legs; Tartars with round faces and infinitesimal noses; Arabs from villages of Mesopotamia, who wear ragged white cotton garments, and who chant war-songs in a minor monotone as they march barefoot through the streets. There are Greeks, keenly awake to the chances which this war may bring to their race, who swagger along, wearing red woolen caps with the top borne down to the back of the neck by the weight of an enormous blue silk tassel that touches the girdle, and displaying their manly graces in gold embroidered jackets and voluminous white petticoats which, barely reaching to the knee, emphasize the wide sweep of hosiery below. There are Malays and Bokharans. There are Nubians, banjo in hand, with foxtail plumes upon their heads. Pushing rapidly through the crowd, are Circassians dressed in tightly fitting homespun, with sheepskin bordered, pointed hats of white felt, with dirk at girdle, broadsword by the side, cartridges decorating the breast, and Remington revolvers in business relations with the right hand. Trudging along close to the walls of the narrow streets are women—Turkish women enveloped in loose mohair robes, and with sparkling black eyes that flash out from the narrow slit in the white gauze which covers the face like a vizor; Persian women encased in blue silk, with baggy trowsers, prolonged to do duty as stockings, by fitting closely about the foot; and Circassian beauties in red cotton trowsers

green silk tunics bound at the waist by belts of silver scales, and wearing gay tablecloths for shawls. There are Greek women from the villages of the Marmora, with their heads bound up as if for a toothache, with loose sleeveless gowns of large figured print, with white cotton trowsers and with red morocco shoes. And there are ladies in Parisian elegance of attire; and Armenian or Greek women, bare-headed, and copying the dress of their foreign sisters, so far as their means will allow, feeling happy if they can boast one article of dress that corresponds with that worn by some European. Throughout these crowds are also seen, as the background for more picturesque dresses, the sober black suits of the Government officials; or the neat business suits of Americans, Frenchmen or Germans; or the lavender kids and spotless expanse of shirt-front, peculiar to the Levantine, who feels bound to appear in evening dress at all times. The streets are in these war times more than ever a kaleidoscope with ever-changing colors and combinations.

It is not strange that with the influx of strangers, robberies and other crimes should become more frequent. From this point of view the anarchy by which Russia expects to profit would seem to be rapidly approaching. Not only in the interior, but in the very outskirts of Constantinople, the roads are unsafe. Circassians seize every horse and every pair of shoes which they meet; frightening the farmers into leaving their crops to shift for themselves, and scaring the merchants from every attempt at trade. The Government seems powerless to stop these robberies. The police is not efficient in the presence of a Circassian, who draws his sword in a crowded thoroughfare threatening to kill the man who

touches him. Or if the police calls for reinforcements, it rarely finds the man it seeks. All the Circassians are exactly alike, and there is no identifying a culprit who has hidden himself in a crowd. This disturbed state of society would be anarchy elsewhere. Here it is only a step toward anarchy. The Turkish social organization is too loosely constructed to break up under these slight shocks.

June 11th.—During the two months which have elapsed since the rupture of negotiations with Montenegro, the Turks have been engaged in preparations to crush that principality. They have assembled for this purpose three armies, with an aggregate of seventy-five thousand men. Everything being ready, hostilities commenced about the first of June, and have so far resulted in enabling Suleiman Pasha to force the Duga pass, and to relieve the garrison of Nicksics. The Duga pass is a deep defile some eight miles long, which leads from Herzegovina toward Montenegro; and Nicksics, at the southern extremity of this pass, is a Turkish fortress upon the very edge of Montenegro. Nicksics is of no use to the Turks, because they cannot command the road to it. Ever since the outbreak of the rebellion in Herzegovina, this fortress has been besieged. At regular intervals it has clamored for aid, and has been supplied with new provisions through the efforts of large Turkish forces. The difficulty of the task of relieving Nicksics will be seen from the fact that Suleiman Pasha, with his army of thirty thousand men, has occupied five days in fighting his way inch by inch through the Duga pass; and has sacrificed, in order to gain his object, a number of men far greater than the whole garrison of Nicksics. At such expense the Turks,

for the sake of their honor, cling to useless bits of territory.

While this fighting at the Duga pass has been in progress, twenty-five thousand men under Ali Saib Pasha, at Podgoritza, on the south, and twenty thousand men under Mehmet Ali Pasha, at Kolashin, on the east of Montenegro, have been vainly seeking to force their way into the principality. These two columns have crossed the frontier, but have accomplished nothing more. The three columns of attack are expected to make a junction somewhere in Montenegro. The country to be subdued is of very small proportions. The three Turkish columns are within twenty-five miles of each other as they now stand on the north, south, and east, of the principality. The Montenegrins have less than thirty thousand men to oppose to this combined attack. It would seem, therefore, that the final conquest of Montenegro might be a matter of small difficulty. But the tremendous energy developed by these mountaineers in the past ten days shows that the progress of the struggle will be full of interest. The Turks are in a white heat of rage against the Montenegrins, having to remember long years of unsuccessful warfare in that region. Moreover they bitterly recall the fact that some years ago they conquered a road through the principality, and fortified it with block-houses; but Russia interfered, and persuaded the Sultan to have the block-houses evacuated on the promise of the Montenegrins that the Turkish convoys from Albania should have free passage to Nicksics along the Montenegrin highway. But on the outbreak of the insurrection in Herzegovina the Montenegrins refused to allow the passage of convoys, and thus caused the immense outlay

of money and the great sacrifice of men in the Duga pass, which preceded the outbreak of the present war. The Turks are therefore determined to have their revenge upon the Montenegrins at all costs.

The very land seems to rise up to aid the Montenegrins. Their territory is like the lava beds of the Modocs with magnified chasms between the rocks. But the people themselves are a nation of fierce warriors. In time of invasion every man is forced to bear arms. A man who fails to take the field in such an emergency is doomed by law to wear a woman's apron and forever to forfeit the right to own arms. The country is governed by a prince, but the form of government is somewhat democratic, the chiefs having an important voice in affairs. The people are wild and uncivilized, as may be seen from their quaint laws. These laws provide, for instance, in all gravity that litigants may not come to blows while in court. Brigandage is prohibited in the interests of peace, but this prohibition is suspended in time of war. If a criminal escapes from the country, any Montenegrin is authorized to kill him wherever he may be. A murderer may be killed by the friends of the murdered man, but this does not convey any right to kill the relatives of the murderer. A man who strikes another must pay a fine of two hundred and fifty dollars, but if the assailant is instantly killed by the injured party, this also is permitted. The vengeance must be immediate, however; if the injured man waits until the next day, before killing his enemy, he is guilty of murder. A man who wounds another must pay one hundred talari for a limb, fifty talari for an eye, etc. But if the wounding is accidental the victim receives only half price. A re-

ward is offered to any one who kills a thief in the act of stealing. Theft not detected in the act is punishable by flogging. A man who steals arms receives one hundred lashes, a horse thief fifty, while a house breaker receives but thirty lashes. Any one who obstructs the collection of taxes is shot as a traitor. The Montenegrin law of libel is very simple. Both the plaintiff and defendant bring witnesses, and he who has the largest number of witnesses will be believed. If the libel is proved, the plaintiff is punished for the offense charged. If it is disproved, the man who uttered the libel is punished as if guilty of the offense which he alleged upon the other party.

The Montenegrins are staunch supporters of the Greek church. They are well built, and often fine looking men. But they have an unenviable reputation for dishonesty and treachery toward strangers. Yet if they once admit a man to their confidence, they are the most trustworthy of friends. These are the men with whom the Turks have to deal in this episode of the great war.

A very marked distress exists in the city. Again and again people have come to my door begging for bread, and with every mark of real suffering. Many families, which have hitherto been comparatively well off, have for weeks had nothing but bread to eat. This distress feeds the discontent against the Government. Popular dislike is especially vented upon Redif Pasha, minister of war, and Mahmoud Damad Pasha, brother-in-law of the Sultan, and chief of ordnance. These two gentlemen are believed to control the Sultan and the ministry. They form, in fact, a ministerial ring believed to be fattening from the distress of the people. Both of these men live in great luxury, and either of them has enough

influence to carry out any private scheme with perfect facility. Redif Pasha is a model secretary of war. It is said of him that on the fall of Ardahan he was obliged to send for an engineer officer to tell him whether that fortress was in Europe or in Asia. It is also said that on being told that the Russians were preparing to cross the Danube, he inquired where they crossed in 1854. He then ordered fortifications to be erected at those points, satisfied that he had thereby saved his country. These stories are of course mere gossip, but they are not incredible in view of the fact that Redif Pasha is a self-made man. He has gained his influence over the Sultan by the fact that he was a leading spirit in the deposition of the two predecessors of Abd ul Hamid. He is cordially hated in the army for his brutality, and is exactly the man to carry out selfish schemes until he has ruined his country.

The ministerial ring is waging war upon the newspapers. *The Levant Herald* has been followed on the retired list by the principal Armenian paper, *The Manzoumei Efkiar*, besides two Turkish newspapers, and a very good Bulgarian daily, *The Napredok*. The editors have been tried by court-martial, and some of them have been punished with great severity. The crime of these editors is criticism upon the policy of Redif Pasha. The ministry have also been occupied with a more weighty question than the freedom of the press. They have fallen foul of the question of woman's dress. Some weeks ago, after a full council on the matter, they issued a police order restricting Turkish women to the use of veils having not less than one hundred and twenty-five threads to the inch. They have now taken the matter into serious consideration again, and have decided that

no woman may wear the sheet in the street—the sheet being a great square of colored cotton or silk cloth which envelops the head and whole person in its folds. On this point the women, however, are making a stand, and more sheets than ever have appeared on the streets since the order. The ministerial objection to the sheet is that the women have a way of letting fall one corner of it occasionally and revealing beautiful things, unlawful to be seen of infidel eyes.

We daily have new instances of the entire absence, among Turkish officials, of moral sense. Some American surgeons have taken service in the Turkish army, and on arriving here from Paris, where they had been engaged by the Turkish ambassador, they found that that gentleman had informed the Minister of War that they are desirous of serving without pay as volunteers. The trick did not serve, however, and these surgeons have been duly engaged at a regular salary. That is to say, they have a renewed promise of salary. Whether they ever get it is quite another thing.

This afternoon, ten large transports loaded with troops, fitted out by the Khedive of Egypt, passed up the Bosphorus. The men are fine looking fellows, dressed in clean white cotton uniforms, and armed with Remington rifles. As each ship passed the Sultan's palace its yards were manned, and the troops gave the shout, "Long live the Padishah," while the guns of the Turkish ships of war answered back with thundering salutes. It was a fine pageant, and the sight has wonderfully encouraged the Moslem part of our population. To them it seems as if this was the beginning of the grand rally of all Moslem nations to the defense of the Caliph.

June 18th.—Again the popular discontent with the

Government has bee[illegible]d by disaster in the army. This time the bad news comes from Erzroom. The Russian left wing, marching from Bayazid towards Erzroom, has routed the Turkish force sent to oppose it, at a place called Tahirgedik, only a few hours' march from Erzroom. The Turkish general in command, like many other Turkish officers, had no lack of bravery. He showed only a lack of brains. However, he expiated his fault with his life. The Government has published only a bare outline of the facts in this case. But we know from other sources that the disaster to the Turks is complete, and that it endangers the whole Turkish army in Armenia. This war has its humors. General Kemball, the English attaché in the Turkish army, at Erzroom, finds it very difficult to communicate with the ambassador here, for the Turks will no longer transmit dispatches written in cipher. His account of the Turkish reverse at Tahirgedik, was telegraphed in these words: "The Russians have attacked the right wing of the Turks. See I Samuel xi. 11." Mr. Layard doubtless opened his Bible and read: "And Saul put the people in three companies; and they came into the midst of the host in the morning watch, and slew the Ammonites until the heat of the day; and it came to pass that they which remained were scattered, so that two of them were not left together." But the Turks were not so fortunate in comprehending the purport of the dispatch, and it is said that the Grand Vezir has sent an aid to the ambassador, politely inquiring who Samuel is!

Three hundred years ago when the Turks made war it was sufficient for the Sultan to command a thing, and it was done. When Suleiman the Great was marching to the relief of Buda, his advance guard came to the

river Drave, and found it impassable by reason of a flood. The Pasha in command, who was, by the way, the minister of war, sent a staff officer to the Sultan to say that it would be needful to wait for the subsidence of the waters, before the army could cross. The Sultan heard the message, and then said to the aid-de-camp: "Tell the Pasha that in four days I shall be at the Drave with this army. If the bridge for us to cross is not then ready, I shall strangle him with my own hands." The bridge was ready and the army crossed at the appointed time, but several hundreds of men had been drowned in the process of bridging the river. When artillery was needed for the siege operations, and no artillery could be brought up, because of the lack of roads, the Sultan had only to say: "Have artillery here or you die," and the artillery was always forthcoming, although in several instances the metal had to be brought upon camels, and the casting of cannon had to be added to the ordinary list of siege operations. A little of the same spirit remains with the Turks of to-day. The weakness of their system of war lies in this fact, and in the fact that the supply of the army is made the duty of civil functionaries in the regions in which the army is operating. The Turks do not furnish wagons for the transportation department of the army. These must be found and sent to the troops by civil authorities; hence the armies are often entirely immovable for lack of supplies and transportation. Then the orders of the Sultan go forth to have wagons and supplies forthcoming. These orders are a curious mixture of threat and entreaty, holding up the importance of the crisis and the consequent greatness of the reward which will belong to those who do their duty, and declaring that those func-

tionaries who fail, will be tried by court-martial. But the whole responsibility is thrown upon the civil officials, and the general of the army is not necessarily to look after such minor details. The governors are simply told to have supplies and wagons, or pack horses, delivered at a certain point, and are left to their own ingenuity for means of executing the command. Sometimes the governors reply that there is no money, and beg for the mercy of the Sultan. But commonly they seize what is required, regardless of the cries of the wretched farmers.

The Turks may have no cavalry and no money to buy horses, and yet cavalry must be had. Orders are sent to the district governors to send cavalry to the front, and it is forthcoming. The means by which the creation of cavalry is effected without horses has just begun to come under observation. In every district there are any number of Circassians who are hankering after a fight with the Russians. The governor simply orders these Circassians to join the army, and they help themselves to horses and articles of equipment, wherever they find them, and report for duty with smiling countenances, and no questions are asked. They take horses in the roads or in the fields. Wherever a horse is, there they are gathered together. Last week Circassians dismounted a doctor on one of the bridges over the Golden Horn, in this city, and spirited away his horse before he knew what was happening. In the country about, farmers and teamsters are paralyzed with terror. Trade between the villages, and even the harvesting of the crops, is stopped, and men are hiding their horses and keeping within their houses, lest they be stripped of all that they possess.

Those who go out are robbed of more or less, as the

fancy moves the marauding [illegible]ior. One man was robbed four times the other day in going twenty miles, and on reaching his destination had but little left to cover himself. The Circassians are cowardly robbers, however. If the subject shows fight, they desist. But, sometimes, they are also thoughtful robbers. If by chance they steal a horse over seventeen or eighteen years of age, they have been known, in several cases, to be benevolent enough to hunt up the owner and restore the brute. Government winks at these robberies, although they take place in the very outskirts of the capital. In other parts of the country, too, brigandage is rapidly increasing, as deserters from the army and bands of volunteers on their way to the front increase. There is a great movement northward of all the Kourds and nomads in Mesopotamia, and the whole mass is hungry for plunder. This movement will give the Government a great force of irregular troops to throw upon the Russian communications, but it also bids fair to make the country no longer worth fighting for. The governor of Van gave notice that he would arm the people if robberies did not cease, and the threat quieted the Kourds in that city. In one of the districts of European Turkey, where brigandage has been rife lately, the governor has been ordered to stop the robberies, and a telegram from him, published this morning in the official paper, announces: "Glory to God, brigandage has now been extinct in my district for one week." It is to be feared that the ascription of glory and the declaration of the fact are alike deceitful.

The Government, though careless of the interests of the people in the matter of protection of life and property, is widely awake to their interests in the matter of

proper opinions on the conduct of the war. When the Russian column from Bayazid occupied the city of Alashgerd on its way toward Erzroum, the Bashi Bozouks there assembled made haste to flee. One of these fugitives, a burly Kourd, reported the advance of the Russians in the first town to which he came. The governor at once had the fellow arrested and thrown into prison, in order to prove to the populace that the story was not true. The Pashas seem to be in perpetual fear lest the people should learn for themselves disagreeable facts in regard to the progress of events; so they try to unmake the facts.

June 26th.—The city resounds with the cries of the newsboys shouting victory, victory, victory! Muhtar Pasha has thrown himself upon the Russian left under Tergoukasof, and has driven him back toward the frontier. Meanwhile, a large force of Kourds, with some regular troops, have occupied Bayazid, blockading in the castle the Russian detachment left there as a guard. This makes it awkward for the retreating army. The army in Montenegro has made a violent attack upon the troops of the principality, and Suleiman Pasha, after six days of very heavy fighting, announces a glorious victory. He has forced his way through the country, and has joined the other Turkish army on the south. He has fought against tremendous odds. The road lies through a sort of cañon with lofty walls on each side, and with frequent transverse cañons which made any continuous advance along the ridges impossible. Every separate hill was thus so isolated as to be a separate fortress. Often the Turkish troops would fight for hours, on either flank of the road, to clear the ridges, and the main body would advance a few hundred yards

along the road. Then some [illegible]pitous gun would force the flanking [illegible] descend from the ridge, and to rec[illegible]ce the obstinate struggle at the very foot of the next rocky height. Then, after they had fought for hours to gain possession of such a height, they would find it to be hardly more than a needle of rock, offering no vantage ground for attacking the bitterly tireless enemy, who held every foot of the soil on all sides of it, and who could only be dislodged by a repetition of the hand-to-hand fighting on the slopes of the next steep ascent. The Turks of the city try to be elated over this victory, but they find it hard to point to any possible fruit to be derived from it. Suleiman Pasha has forced his way through Montenegro at a cost of several thousand men, and is now just as much outside of the principality as before, while the same undaunted enemy opposes his re-entrance upon that sterile soil. The third Turkish army, operating against Montenegro, is just where it was three weeks ago; but the Government publishes a statement, from Mehmet Ali Pasha, to the effect that he has captured eleven thousand—sheep. So much for the campaign against these mountaineers, undertaken by three of the best generals of the whole Turkish army.

Meantime the news comes from European sources—the Government does not allude to it—that the Russian troops have crossed the Danube without a struggle, at Matchin, and are now pouring their forces into the Dobruja. It is true that this does not admit them to Bulgaria, for the great quadrilateral will bar their progress. Indeed, it is probable that the Turks do not expect to fight for the Dobruja; but it none the less depresses the Moslems of the city, who are

already cursing their generals, and vowing vengeance upon the Sultan and his incompetent ministers. Fuel is added to this smoldering fire by the [illegible] that an enterprising Russian war ship has escaped the vigilance of the Turkish fleet, and has burned some Turkish merchantmen within sight of a Turkish seaport on the Black Sea. What a Mohammedan populace can do, in times of despair, is illustrated to us by letters from Erzroom. After the defeat of the Turkish army at Tahirgedik, the whole city was in an uproar. The Bashi Bozouks filled the streets, raving about their ability to cut the throats of every Russian on Turkish soil. The Softas assembled and proceeded to point out to the governor the fact that the Almighty is angry with the Moslem people for lukewarmness. The country was in danger, and the whole population should be armed and ordered to march upon the infidels. They even suggested that, since many Christians are living in Erzroom, a good beginning might be made by killing them first. The ruffians of all races, who filled the streets, began to abuse the Christians and to rob their shops. The Armenians and Greeks of the city were filled with the horror of impending massacre, and kept their houses as if already besieged by the partisans of religious warfare. The governor of the city, Ismail Pasha, did not know how to act, and simply reported the demands of the Moslems to Constantinople, as if he thought that they might well be granted. Happily, just at this critical moment, Muhtar Pasha ordered Ismail Pasha to gather all the troops and Bashi Bozouks, and to join him in the attack upon the army of Tergoukasof. The Bashi Bozouks grumblingly obeyed the order, and Erzroom heaved a great sigh of relief.

In Constantinople there is a good deal of the same desperate spirit among the Moslems, but the feeling is the more dangerous because of the distrust and hatred felt toward the Government officials. This feeling has been increased by the decree for a forced loan of $25,000,000, two thirds of which is to be paid by the people of all races, and one third is to be laid upon the officials and stopped from their pay. Were it not for the presence of foreign ships of war in the harbor, our situation would be extremely critical. The stars and stripes never looked so pleasing as in these dark days, when we see them floating over the *Vandalia* and the *Dispatch* in front of the Sultan's palace.

June 29th.—The Russian army has crossed the Danube into Bulgaria. The fact has been concealed by the Government as long as possible, and, now that the news has come from Europe, the people are tenfold indignant at the concealment. The Russians appear to have gained a crossing at or near Sistov, and without much resistance by the Turks.

Probably the idea that the Russians could cross at a new place in this war never entered the heads of the generals of the Turkish army. "They crossed the river while our asses of soldiers were fast asleep," said a Turk to me this morning. But it is not the soldiers, but the generals who are to blame. There is plenty of brawn but no brain in the Turkish army. At least the brains yet await development. The Government bulletins completely ignore this trivial occurrence on the Danube, although this indicates the real commencement of the war in the European part of the empire. In all these days when the Russians have been fighting at Sistov for a footing on this side of the Danube, and every one has

been suffering tort [illegible] news, the Government has allowed no word of this [illegible] lished, and instead has given to the public the announcement that in an obscure place in Bosnia a band of victory-bearing troops of His Imperial Majesty, had by the grace of God, destroyed a band of Bosnian rebels, composed of four men, of whom three were killed, and the fourth took refuge in inaccessible portions of the mountains, and the imperial troops captured on this occasion one horse, three muskets, three revolvers, one knife, and a waterproof overcoat, besides some food and some ammunition. Fancy a confiding public buying an official bulletin for two cents, and spelling painfully through the mass of Arabic characters composing it, and finding its burden of news to be only this, at a time when the line of the Danube is being broken up. After such maltreatment at the hands of the bureau of news, the public will not believe a word of the telegrams now coming in from Erzroom, describing the rout and pursuit to the frontier of the Russian army of the Caucasus by the "ever-victorious" Turkish troops. Even the Turks themselves cannot believe that such luck has befallen them.

However, the Government is acting as if a crisis was approaching. It has ordered the erection of fortifications for the capital along the line of the Chekmejé hills, some ten miles from the city walls. All the population are to give their labor to this work, or to hire substitutes to work for them. As usual, this alternative causes any amount of extortion. The police arrest aged and infirm Armenians and Greeks, and tell them that they are to be sent to the works. Of course the prisoners are ready to buy their freedom by a subscription to funds, which, equally of course, do not find their

way into the treasury of the Government. And when the men, after their [illegible] learn that they are exempt from duty [illegible] physical disability, there is no redress. Such are the means adopted by Turkish officials to save something from the ruin of their country!

The Government is hurrying forward its troops. Several thousand Zeibeks have been sent to the Danube this week, after much ceremony and many prayers on the square of the arsenal at Tophaneh. Zeibeks are men of magnificent muscle, and they are still in childish ignorance of the fact that there is any Nineteenth Century. They came to the city in all the wild savagery of their native costume. On their heads they wore tall red fez caps with pendulous tassels of enormous proportions. On their backs were braided blue broadcloth jackets, so short as barely to cover the shoulder-blade. The middle portion of the body was enwrapped with yards of colored cotton, wound around like a girdle, and falling so low as sometimes to impede motion. An extremely tight, and extremely short pair of white cotton trowsers completed the costume, which terminated at the knee. They were shod with low shoes of home-tanned leather, while a wide pouch of Russia leather, strapped over the girdle, held a perfect arsenal of weapons. Their favorite weapons are knives as long as a sword and tenfold more savage in expression, great flint-lock pistols with silver-mounted handles, and short, sharp daggers. These fellows overran the city, even invading the concert saloons of Pera, to the horror of the effeminate Levantines who frequent such places. They swaggered through the streets, with the long false sleeves of their jackets waving in the breeze. As their long knives are thrust through the leathern belt in front

of the body, with point projecting on one side and the other, it was crowd, to avoid jostling against them, and such an accident was sure to be resented with tongue or fist. The Government put these wild fellows into army uniforms, and gave them Martini-Henry rifles, before they sent them off to fight. But the Zeibeks were ill at ease. They felt as if stripped of their nature when stripped of their dress, and they could not feel themselves warriors without their butcher-knives, for their only idea of war is hand-to-hand war with swords. Civilization took all the manhood out of them, as it seems to do with the whole Turkish people. And when they find that a battle with the Russians means a place where they must be content to yield up life and limb while the enemy is yet in almost invisible distance, they will protest against the pitiless inventions of the infidels even more loudly than they did when they were compelled to leave in this city the great pile of bric-a-brac which they supposed to be implements of war. So far, the Turks throughout the land have shown something of the Zeibek simplicity in their conduct of the war. They have been pausing to learn the unrighteous methods of warfare invented by the satanic ingenuity of the Russian intellect. And much precious time have they lost in gnashing their teeth and cursing the West for its cruel manner of making mind superior to body in so very thoroughly animal an undertaking as war.

The easy success of the Russians in crossing the Danube is fully accounted for by the character of the general-in-chief. He has been supposed to have a plan of action, but has done nothing to suggest its existence. When the Russian troops were moving toward the

Danube the Sultan inquired by telegraph of the general-in-chief the number of troops in the Russian army and the direction of its main columns. The general replied that the newspapers gave the numbers at two hundred and fifty thousand men; that as to the direction of the Russian columns he had no information; and that so long as the Russians were still in Roumania, he considered it the duty of the secret service bureau of the ministry of foreign affairs to collect the desired information! A few days later the Sultan in person telegraphed to inquire if the various outposts along the Danube were connected by telegraph so as to insure prompt information of any attempt on the part of the Russians to cross the river. The general replied that there were no such telegraph lines, and that he had requested the telegraph bureau at Constantinople to send him material three weeks before, but as yet had heard nothing from his request. This was at the end of May, when the Russians were already in position on the whole line of the Danube. The Sultan ordered the matter to be inquired into. It turned out that the request of the general-in-chief for telegraphic apparatus had been made by telegram, and that the telegraph clerk at army headquarters had had a quarrel with the staff officer who presented the telegram. In order to spite the officer, the telegraph clerk had calmly pigeonholed the dispatch instead of sending it. As the Sultan remarked when the result of the inquiry was reported, if he had not chanced to ask about telegraph lines between outposts, the matter would not again have been thought of by any one. The general-in-chief, Abd ul Kerim Pasha, had not given thought enough to the question to inquire about the delay in forwarding

his safety depended. He seems to be a soldier of the old school, who relies entirely upon his fortresses. He probably conceived no other plan of campaign than to wait in the quadrilateral for the enemy to break upon its walls. It never seems to have entered his mind that the Russian army might march by his fortresses without attacking them.

The Russians, having such a general to oppose them, could have no difficulty in crossing the Danube, or in occupying the best regions of Bulgaria.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PERIOD OF VICTORY.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *July 16th.*

THE complete defeat of the Russian forces in Armenia seems to be a fact incredible to all, but to none more so than the despairing Turkish population. Muhtar Pasha has developed most unexpected qualities as a general. When Tergoukasof defeated the Turkish troops, June 16th, at Tahirgedik, on the Bayazid road, Muhtar was at the passes of the Soghanli Mountains, awaiting the attack of the Russian army under General Melikoff. Melikoff, having invested Kars, was marching toward Zivin, where Muhtar Pasha had pitched his camp. The situation was critical for the Turkish army, because Tergoukasof had a clear road to Erzroom.

Muhtar Pasha calculated the chances, took a part of his troops from Zivin, with all available forces from Erzroom, and threw himself, on the 21st, upon Tergoukasof. The battle was fierce, but the Russians were severely handled and forced to retreat. Leaving Ismail Pasha, the governor of Erzroom, to pursue Tergoukasof, Muhtar Pasha returned by forced marches to Zivin, where he arrived on the night of the 25th of June. That day Melikoff had attacked the Turkish lines, and had been

repulsed at every point. The return of Muhtar Pasha's force gave the Turkish army immense superiority of numbers, and General Melikoff was obliged to retreat.* The siege of Kars was abandoned, and the whole Russian army has now retired to the frontier. Tergoukasof has barely escaped complete disaster by freeing the Turkish soil of his presence. Such are the victories which have

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* The success of the Turkish troops in Armenia was the more remarkable because as late as the 7th of June nothing had been done to provide Muhtar Pasha with transportation. Then the Government ordered the civil authorities to seize camels, horses, and bullock-carts, wherever found, and to send them in to Erzroom. It also sent repeated instructions to these authorities to assemble auxiliary troops and to send them to Erzroom. The desperate condition of the Turkish army in that region just before the movement of Muhtar Pasha, is shown by the following telegraphic correspondence, published by Ahmed Mithad Effendi in his collection of official documents. The Sultan had caused Ismail Pasha, the governor of Erzroom, to be summoned to the telegraph office in order to be catechized. The dispatches contain not only interesting details of the lack of reserves for the Turkish army, but they show the flowery style used by Turkish officials in their communications.

"To ISMAIL PASHA, *Erzroom* :

"In the first place I announce to you that our Sovereign, the source of unmerited benefactions to us all, salutes and commends your noble self. His Majesty has greatly praised your services in the last war, and now condescends to expect very great services from you. I am now about to ask some confidential questions of you. Your answers and suggestions, though brief, will be valuable, and His Majesty awaits their arrival. How many troops are there in Erzroom to-day? How many are infantry, how many are cavalry, and how many are auxiliaries (Bashi Bozouks)? When your answer comes our communications will continue by question and answer.

"SAID" (*Secretary of the Sultan*)

The answer of Ismail Pasha.

"May our Lord God Almighty give health and pleasure to His Majesty's body, and admit him to the enjoyment of all kinds of success and vic-

been loudly announced upon the streets, and which have led the populace to begin to hope that their dream of divine interference is to be realized. The collapse of the Russian attack in Armenia is amazing, because the Turkish generals move with their native indolence, and reveal once more this characteristic, by failing to attack their beaten enemy. Not once have they molested the Russian columns during their long retreat.

This success has somewhat brightened the horizon in this city. The Moslems are less excited and less dangerous. Even the dissolution of parliament has been submitted to without murmur, although the people loved it. At the commencement of the session, the authorities were anxious to encourage an opposition party in the assembly. Before the dissolution, the par-

tory. There is no merit in me that after so many royal gifts I should also be permitted to have the honor of His Majesty's solicitude. On account of this honor I am now prostrate upon my face in the homage of gratitude. As I have always performed the royal behests with devotion, I am ready in behalf of the imperial interests to carry out every wish and command of His Majesty, even to the extent of sacrificing my head and my life.

"At Erzroom there are, to-day, regulars and militia, four battalions of infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, and four batteries of field artillery. Besides these, there are three battalions of home guards, with about four hundred men in each, and about one hundred and twenty Circassian horsemen. . . . Other battalions of home guards and auxiliaries are yet to come in. Although the last of these auxiliaries have not yet arrived, great efforts are being made under the shadow of the Sultan to have them shortly brought to this place," etc., etc., etc.

The hand-to-mouth character of the Turkish system of supporting the army is shown by the fact that at this time, when the war had but just commenced, there were in the great depots at Constantinople no cartridges for the Martini rifle, and only enough of other kinds to supply forty thousand men for one battle.

liament was all opposition. Day after day, the members, Christians and Jews as well as Moslems, arraigned the ministry for incompetence, and summoned them to answer awkward questions concerning the failures of the army and the navy.* The parliament accomplished little, for the ministry holds the right of veto upon its proceedings. But it at least afforded a safety valve for the escape of the wrath of the people. All parties felt easier while they could daily hear that hated ministers were berated and put to confusion by the critics of the assembly. The moment of victory gave the Government an opportunity to close the troublesome assembly, but there are signs of a new disturbance among the populace, because the Russians have overrun the richest part of Bulgaria, and have even found an ill-guarded pass in the Balkans by which to cross in some force to this side of the mountains. It is impossible yet to judge just what this means, for news is suppressed. But the fact is well authenticated, and is implied in the Government bulletins, which pathetically say that the Russians have marched upon places where there were no troops, and have avoided towns where the troops were assembled to fight them. The ministry try to keep the people quiet by suppressing news, and to appease them by announcing a long list of officers from Sistov, Tirnova, and other places in Bulgaria, who have been arrested for their failure to keep out the Russian

* The wholesome fear inspired among the Pashas by the critical attitude of the Turkish parliament is shown by a dispatch from Redif Pasha to the general-in-chief, asking if something cannot be done to save Tirnova, "because the assembly and the populace will give the ministry no rest if Tirnova falls." The general replied urging patience, and saying that the Russians were preparing to attack the quadrilateral.

troops. It also announces, as a good crumb of comfort, that Osman Pasha, the commander at Widdin, has recovered Plevna from the Russians, and that this is probably a type of similar successes soon to follow. Plevna is an obscure town in the western part of Bulgaria, and the Turks announce its occupation, not because it has any strategic value, but merely because they cannot endure the shame of allowing one foot of Turkish soil to be in the possession of the hated infidels. The defect of their plan of defense seems to be caused by this feeling. They cannot take a broad view of the relations between cause and effect, and they anticipate no relief from the future results of any given manœuvre. They merely see that the enemy is pressing forward, and they scatter their forces in a vain effort to protect every Turkish town and village from invasion.* Meanwhile measures are being taken which show the

* The dispatches of Redif Pasha, Minister of War, show the manner in which the Turkish army was scattered over a wide territory in order to protect insignificant places from attack. Shipka pass was not occupied by the Turks in force, because, says Redif to the Sultan, July 11th, "the troops were needed to protect the population of the district of Silistria." Nicopoli, an untenable fortress on the Danube, was held after the Sultan had urged its evacuation, "because," says Redif, "the abandonment of such a place would have displeased the people." As the result of this policy, its garrison of twelve thousand men fell into the hands of the Russians. Redif Pasha waxes eloquent on the subject of the difficulty of organizing a force for field work against the Russians in Bulgaria. He says, "as soon as Eshraf Pasha's division left Ruschuk, Tahir Pasha began to groan. So there was nothing to do but to send him three battalions from Varna. Yet he wants still more, as many troops as were taken from him. But troops cannot be sent, for whatever corps we lay hands upon at once begins to bawl about the insufficiency of force. It is impossible to make the commanders understand that the army in the field will protect the fortresses."—*Zubdet ul Hakaik*, by Ahmed Mithad, p. 318.

less of the Ulemas in view of the appearance of the Russians on the south side of the Balkans. Redif Pasha, the Minister of War, left some days ago for the Danube—at which every one rejoices—and has already been reported killed, which every one hopes is true." Troops are being hurried by rail to Philippopolis, and steamers have been sent to bring to this city a part of the troops which have been operating in Montenegro.

The state of the country seems daily as bad as possible, and yet each day seems to make it worse. Circassian desperadoes infest the roads in the vicinity of Nicomedia, and all business and farming operations are at a standstill. The wretched people send delegations to this city to implore protection, button-holing every foreigner who knows an ambassador, to ask his intercession on their behalf. But all intercession is vain, for the Government has need of the help of the Circassians on the battlefield, and moreover has no troops to spare for the police of country highways. We now hear that Bashi Bozouks sent to reinforce Reouf Pasha, who is trying to face the Russians at the Balkan passes, have burned Yeni Zagra. This place is a Bulgarian town at some distance south of the Balkans. The Bashi Bozouks have probably put into effect there the practice often recommended by Moslem warriors elsewhere. When they find it dangerous to fight Russian Christians, the impulse always is to fight any Christians. If they cannot drive the Russian army back through the mountains, they can at least rob and kill the Bulgarians at Yeni Zagra.

The Turks are thus plunged in despair or exalted in hope on alternate days. All their emotions are violent

though temporary, and they are fast approaching the point where these violent feelings will entirely overwhelm all judgment. We begin to tremble for the result, not only upon the Christians of country districts, but upon our own city. At present a belief in predestination seems to be all that holds the Turks from a wild outburst of fury. What is, has been decreed of God, and they must endure. A Turkish official remarked to me that the country cannot hope to raise over 100,000 more men. "But God knows," said he; "we put our trust in God, and He will save us." Officials are constantly using this pious language. The hypocrisy of it all fairly takes one's breath away, for the very same men are engaged to-day in stealing the soldiers' rations, or in selling to highwaymen the new American rifles from the arsenals of the Government. In the morals of a Turkish official, right is very apt to be defined as that wherewith a man may please those whom he is interested to please. Wrong is the injury done to men by others. The high civilization of Europe, with all its moral precepts, is a lacquer invented in France, wherewith men may prevent friction by covering over their secret aims, and natural impulses. Conscience is a faculty implanted in man to inform him when his own interests demand a change of policy. Religion is a form of worship, and has no relation to conduct. The men who in this crisis most loudly declare their trust in God, are commonly those whose lives are shaped under such principles.

July 25th.—The rush and whirl of war is upon us in earnest. The Russians were defeated in a heavy attack on Plevna last week, and the Government has made the most of its victory, publishing bulletin after bulletin

with fuller details. These bulletins, as usual, attach no importance to the battles, except as successful in slaughtering many Russians. The populace has learned, however, from the European newspapers that Plevna is a place of great strategic importance. They are accordingly elated, but grind their teeth in rage at the failure of the Government to tell them the whole truth, even concerning success. Most probably no official in the city had any real idea of the importance of Plevna until told of it by the newspapers. So far as the war commission is concerned, Osman Pasha appears to have blundered into a lucky hit in fortifying the place. Even Osman Pasha himself may have regarded Plevna as valuable only because it was a favorable locality for fulfilling the mission to kill infidels, which is the chief thought of good Moslems. But while he holds Plevna the Russian army will be unable to follow up its successes in the Balkans.*

The Government has shown very great energy in assembling troops to meet the emergency. It has ordered

* The official correspondence shows that when the Russians were advancing on Tirnova, Osman Pasha, who was in command at Widdin, offered to leave a garrison at that place, and with the bulk of his army to take the field in Bulgaria. This offer was accepted by the War Department, but shortly afterward Redif Pasha, then in Bulgaria, decided that Widdin would be sacrificed in consequence of such a movement, and telegraphed to Osman that he must not leave Widdin. But the Sultan interfered and ordered Osman Pasha to march from Widdin as proposed, directing him to occupy Orhanié, in order to cover Sophia. As the Russian army crossed the Balkans, the Sultan telegraphed to Osman to "hasten, for the empire hangs between life and death." In pursuance of these orders, Osman Pasha reached Plevna in time to receive the Russian attack of the 18th of July. Having repulsed this attack, he seems to have recognized the defensive value of the place, and only then did he decide to fortify it. For these dispatches, see Zubdet ul Hakaik, pp. 327 and 330.

troops from the garrison towns of Syria and Crete, preferring to risk insurrection in those regions, rather than to face Gourko under the walls of Constantinople. Orders were sent out in every direction, as early as the beginning of this month, to hurry forward men. Mehmet Ali Pasha was directed to leave the Montenegrins to themselves, and to march overland to Sophia with his best troops. Steamers were got together with infinite pains, and sent to Antivari to bring away the army of Suleiman Pasha, still hot from the fierce struggle among the rocks of Montenegro; and those steamers have been awaited with anxious eyes, for the Russians have not waited one instant. Suleiman Pasha's fiery nature must have fretted as he paced the deck of the steamer during all that long eight days of the voyage. He knew that the enemy had seized Tirnova and Shipka, and was descending into the plains of Philippopolis. He knew that there were no troops at the capital sufficient to oppose the Russian advance, and he did not know that Osman Pasha was nearing Plevna with a check for the invading army. He had the Sultan's orders to hasten, in order to save, if possible, the capital from attack; and yet, day and night, day and night, the steamer would only crawl along, with its regular beat of the engines accenting the seconds that were so precious, as going they became minutes and hours, while the landmarks of the Greek coast seemed hardly to change position one whit. But the long suspense and the voyage came to an end at last, and the Pasha and his army have gone by rail toward Philippopolis to throw themselves between the enemy and further successes.

Little by little the truth about these successes has

come out. Government conceals everything. It would suppress the European mails, if it dared, for they bring the news of all its failures. The Russian army, under General Gourko, crossed the mountains by an unguarded pass called Haïn Boghaz, or the Traitor's Gulch. They have found the Turks everywhere unprepared, and have captured Kizanlik and the Shipka pass, which contains a military road. They have now occupied Eski Zagra and Yeni Zagra, and are driving back toward Philippopolis the small Turkish army under Reouf Pasha. Apparently, the Grand Duke will have a clear road to Adrianople, as soon as he has defeated the army at Plevna, which threatens his flank. Anxiety and terror are in full possession of all the people of the city. Every day refugees from the territory occupied by the Russians arrive here. They are half naked and half starved, and tell the most extraordinary stories of the brutality of the Cossacks. They fill our streets, thirsting to take vengeance upon some one, and not very particular as to the race of their victims. These fellows are not at all anxious to conceal their regrets that they had to flee before they could kill the Bulgarians. Two of these men, who had been Bashi Bozouks under Reouf Pasha, sat near me on the steamer the other day, and talked in perfect unconcern of the plan which they had made to return to their village, after placing their women in safety. The object of their return was solely to massacre their Bulgarian neighbors, in order to deprive them of the benefits of the Russian victories; but, when they carried out their purpose to return, they found the Cossacks already there, and were obliged to beat a hasty retreat. "Yes," said one of them, "the Russians were too soon for us; and now, every dog of

those Bulgarians has put on a stovepipe hat, and struts about like a gentleman." Another refugee described his adventures, with a genuine trembling that showed how his nerves had been strained by fear. He had fled from Tirnova on the approach of the Russians, and, after traveling night and day, reached Kizanlik in safety. He lay down there to sleep, and the Cossacks appeared before he had slept an hour. He fled to Eski Zagra, and was sure of safety there; but again the musketry of the advancing Russians drove him out. In wild fear he joined the mass of fugitives on their way to the sea-coast, but he declared that every night Cossacks appeared and drove them from their bivouac. At the sea-side, at least, he expected to be able to rest a few hours; but hardly had he laid down, when Bourgas was in an uproar with the cry, "The Cossacks are coming!" The people flocked to the coasting schooners, which were lying in the harbor, and came to this city; but this man declared that three times a Russian torpedo boat tried to blow up the sloop in which he was. The blind horror of this refugee is hardly greater than that which fills the people of this city and all of the surrounding regions.

The Pashas have been ordered to live at their city residences, in order to be available for councils. In fact council succeeds council, and the carriages of the ministers are dashing about the streets at all hours of day and night. Troops are marching through the city at all hours. The police of this city have been armed with Winchester rifles, in order to serve in the defense, and also in order, it is said, that they may act effectually in case of any outbreak of the mixed multitude which is filling the houses of the Mohammedan districts. Work

upon the fortifications, both here and at Adrianople, is being pressed. Recruiting stations have been opened in all parts of the city to raise volunteers. The demand for men is so pressing, that the Government has resolved to admit Christians to the ranks with Moslems, and it has caused flags "of brotherly love," to be raised in front of the recruiting stations. These flags of brotherly love are simply the usual Turkish crescent and star with a white cross added in each corner of the red ground.

With characteristic stupidity, the Turks have set up this banner of the cross in the *Jewish* quarters of the city also! But all these efforts to win recruits by the cross has failed. There is great drumming and fifing, but there are no volunteers.

The American missionaries here are very anxious as to the fate or fortune of two of their colleagues, who reside at Eski Zagra. No details of the circumstances of the capture of that place by the Russians have been received. Of course the missionaries would be in no danger from the Russians, but it may be that the Turks would harm them in the confusion of an attempt to destroy the Bulgarians before the Russians arrived. The Turks are filled with the idea that they are doing God's service in destroying infidels wherever found. This is the explanation of their refusal to grant quarter to Russian prisoners. The Government has been forced to issue a proclamation explaining to the troops that prisoners sometimes give valuable information, and begging rather than commanding the soldiers to bring in prisoners alive. General Melikoff has lately hung a score or so of Kourds for having butchered Russian prisoners taken at Bayazid. As an offset to this, the governor

of Erzroom has telegraphed to the ministry asking for two hundred and fifty watches for distribution among the Kourds as rewards of merit.

The Government has at last become convinced that the illustrious Redif Pasha is a humbug. It has had him arrested, together with Abd ul Kerim Pasha, the poor old commander-in-chief, and is to try them by court-martial, for having allowed the Russians to conquer Bulgaria without a struggle. Mehmet Ali Pasha has been appointed commander-in-chief of the army. He has hastened on in advance of his army, and is already in his new field of operations. His transfer to the Danube is one more indication that the Turks have no desire for further adventures among the winding cañons of the Black Mountain.

August 8th.—The rich valley of the Maritza is becoming a desert. The Bulgarian insurrection of last year involved the total destruction of about fifteen villages on the skirts of the mountains, besides the partial ruin of many others. The present war is wiping out of existence a whole list of places in other parts of the valley. As soon as General Gourko's cavalry had spread over the country on this side of the Balkans, the Bulgarians were invited to revolt, and the panic of the Turks gave them boldness to do so. They committed themselves, heart and soul, to the Russian cause, established their little local governments, levied upon Moslem houses for expenses, tried by drum-head court-martial such old tyrants as they could catch, and organized a police and an army. Everything succeeded, and the revolt seemed so pleasant a thing that even in Philippopolis one week ago, the Bulgarians were on the point of attempting a rising under the very eyes of the

Pasha. But there came a change. Turkish troops arrived from every side and swept over the country. The Russians assembled their scattered forces and deserted their Bulgarian allies, and the wretched villagers fought to the death when they found they could not flee. The Bulgarians had fortified positions at Karlovo and at Sopot, at the entrance of the Troyan Pass, but surrendered before the Turkish artillery fire. Near Chirpan, the poor people, with their new flag, their new rifles and their new swords, made a stand, in hopes that the Russians would somehow intervene. But they were not able to hold out an hour, and fled in dire dismay to islands in the Maritza River, where no possible aid can reach them, and they must starve into submission at once. At Eski Zagra, the Russians established a division on July 22. The people in wild delight threw away their fez caps and donned their new black sheepskin shakos, and gave themselves up to all manner of demonstrations of joy—because Turkish rule for them was over. They established a government here too, raised volunteers, and equipped a local police force. The rabble pillaged houses and shops of the Moslems—for the hour for reprisals had now arrived.

The Bulgarian Provisional Government at Eski Zagra, as soon as constituted, hanged six Turks and shot four others, after trial by court-martial, for firing from their houses upon the troops. Next day others were executed, and yet others the next day, the formalities of trial being less in each case, until, at last, Turks were taken out of the city and killed by any Bulgarian who chose to do so, without form of trial. Ten Turks in one batch were so disposed of, the executioners hack-

ing them down with swords so dull that three or four blows were needed in each case. At the same time an order was issued prohibiting the sale of food to Turks, the object being to starve them into a surrender of their stock of secret arms.* At last, however, an order read in all the churches prohibited summary executions, and this stopped the killing of Turks, after perhaps a hundred such executions had taken place. The city was then pretty quiet, but on Tuesday, July 31, the battle of Eski Zagra began, and when at noon Turkish shells began to fall among the houses, the whole fabric of Bulgarian Government went to pieces. The Bulgarians had been alarmed by the firing ten miles east, the day before, and had anxiously questioned the Russian general, who reassured them with the statement that everything was going well. It was also understood that notice would be given to them if the Turkish advance should prove strong enough to force a retreat of the Russians. As soon as the shells began to howl through the streets, there was a great movement in retreat of Bulgarians, with their families and goods. The Russians, however, drove them back into the city at the point of the bayonet again and again, not choosing to be encumbered in retreat by such a mass. Only forty minutes before the Turkish skirmishers entered the streets were the Russian sentinels removed so that the Bulgarians could leave the town. Then ensued a fearful stampede of the frightened crowd. All the joy and all the folly of the previous week made the collapse from hope to terror more complete. The mass of flying wagons, with men, women and children, choked the narrow pass which leads from Eski Zagra north to the Kezanlik Valley, and then the Turkish artillery in-

creased the elevation of its guns, and, firing over the town with deadly accuracy, dropped its shells into the writhing mass in the pass. The Bulgarian volunteers, who were fighting in line outside, had orders to defend the town, and never received any instructions to desist. So they fell back upon the town, fighting, and continued stubbornly to fight in the streets, inflicting serious loss on the Turkish advance, neither asking nor receiving any opportunity to surrender.

As the Turkish troops approached the city, the Moslem inhabitants began to issue forth from their hiding-places. They hardly paused, however, to greet the troops who had delivered them. In fact, before the troops had fairly entered the place, the Moslem citizens brought out axes and began to break in the doors of all Bulgarian houses. Now was the opportunity to satisfy the covetings of years. Now was the time to revel in the riches of the proud old patricians. No order to pillage was issued. It was as if the understanding was general by an intuition. The Bulgarians had played their hand, and lost, and the instant this was evident the Moslems had their turn. It took hardly ten minutes to break in the doors of five hundred houses. A rush was made for the residences of the richest nabobs, which were cleared out before the rabble began the systematic spoliation from house to house. At the same time a continuous and rapid fire of musketry was going on all over the city. The Turks say that the Bulgarians fired from houses and churches upon the troops. There are no Bulgarians left to give their side of the story. All Bulgarian men seemed to be killed at sight, as if by arrangement. Women and children were spared as a general thing. But the hideous pillage, and

the firing, and the shrieks and shouts continued all night, and great districts of the city were burning, as if all the other horrors were not enough. At daylight Suleiman Pasha ordered all Moslems and Jews—whom the Turks protect as if they were their own people—to leave the place, since his contemplated operations did not include any such thing as the defense of Eski Zagra. So the Turks loaded up their loot and their women and children on wagons, and went to the nearest railway station, followed by what seemed to be an endless train of Bulgarian women and children who had lost all. These could see, in the Turkish wagons, goods stolen from their homes, but they might not dare ask for them. Eski Zagra was left to the flames, and in its streets and in the surrounding villages the rattle of rifles was constant for three or four days. There seems to have been a settled purpose to kill every Bulgarian male over ten years of age. The fair city, set on a hill, used to look out over a plain which teemed with a busy peasantry in fertile fields. Now, from the seared and blistered hill, you look over the plain, and its forty villages are blackened ash-heaps, foul from the hand of death.

The attempt to ameliorate the condition of the Christians of this part of Turkey by war is not a brilliant success, and the mismanagement which armed these Bulgarians, and encouraged them to desperate fighting against their rulers, and then deserted them in their hour of sore need, was a terrible crime. No one will ever know the exact loss of life at Eski Zagra. Seven thousand women and children of its Christian population are dependent on charity in Adrianople to-day. These people believe all of their male relatives to

have been killed. This, however, is hardly so, since many Bulgarian men escaped with the Russians. But the city of Eski Zagra is entirely wiped out of existence.

Two American missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Bond and Marsh, with their wives and five small children, were in Eski Zagra during the sacking of the place. I have seen them, and they tell me that at one time they sheltered some poor wretches who were in danger at the hands of the Bulgarian mob, and that, when the edict prohibiting the sale of food to Moslems was in force, they also fed some of their Moslem neighbors. In consequence of this and other kindnesses, afterward, when the city was being sacked, their Moslem neighbors rallied around them, and saved their lives. The kindness of these Turks can be better appreciated in view of the fact that it was exercised at the cost of a tremendous self-denial, for not a man of them but longed to be at looting. These Turks had axes in their hands, to break open doors, and they could not refrain from occasional raids for loot on neighboring Bulgarian houses, while they were defending from pillage the American families. At one time, the Circassians drew their swords and came at the missionaries to kill them, but these Turks withstood them, and, between entreaties and resistance, kept the ruffians away, although in one case the missionaries had to pay a Circassian $60, gold, as ransom. The Turks then got word to the governor, who at once provided them with a guard of regular soldiers. These missionaries, however, lost everything they possessed by the fire, escaping to the railroad with only the clothes they had on. They have come through a terrible experience, but they have the satisfaction of knowing that,

by standing at their posts, they made a little haven of refuge for both Turks and Bulgarians, and that through all the horrors of those days they were looked up to for counsel and comfort.

There have been many rumors here that the holy flag of the Prophet would be brought out as a rallying point for the whole nation, in view of the aspect of affairs. In fact, it is said that the Sultan has so long resisted the pressure of the people for this, that the venerable flag has three times undertaken to shame him by going forth of its own accord by a flight from the window. For ten days the Christians of this city have been terrified by the persistence of this rumor, as they believe that the appearance of the flag would be the signal for a general attack on Christians. Three times my servants have come to me with white faces to say that such a day had been fixed for the massacre—the breadman said so—and every time they put unshaken faith in the new computation of dates, like the Adventists in matters of the end of the world. The Turks, also, are in terror much of the time, lest the Christians rise and massacre them. Thus the people of this city lead lives that are wretched from fear. The flag which has caused such terror in the kitchens of Constantinople—the Sanjak-i-Sherif it is called—is an innocent piece of rotten and faded silk, which used to be covered with sacred writings, and which once was green in color. The only legible word remaining upon it is "Alem" (world), which appears in a secluded fold near the staff. This flag is never unfurled—nor indeed can be, from rottenness—a characteristic which moralists may use for the basis of a simile connected with the nation to whom the flag belongs. The flag is

kept rolled on its staff and covered with a green satin cover, the whole packed away in a gold or gilded box. When the holy standard is to be brought out, it is carried in its green cover through the streets of Constantinople, and after the city walls are passed it is "in the field." It is then stowed away in the gilded box once more, and this is carried with the army, much as the Jews used to take the Ark of the Covenant to the wars. When it is in the field, every Moslem is in duty bound to follow in its train. It is not commonly a signal for a general attack on Christians, although it does mean that no quarter will be given in battle. The danger of its display is, that the people, being called upon in a general way to make war, would do so each after his own ideas. These ideas would include the assassination of many Christians.

The Moslems are, however, less and less likely to insist upon the resort to this flag as a means of defense. They are beginning to be flushed with victory.* Gourko's army has been driven back through the passes, and the line of the Balkans has been re-established. The Russians once more assaulted Plevna on the thirtieth of July, and were once more defeated with fearful losses by Osman Pasha's army. The people begin to feel that the war is in a fair way to close with a great triumph over the proud armies of the Czar, and a permanent independence of European control.

August 25th.—The Turkish armies seem to act on the

* The Sultan, in a dispatch to the council of ministers, says on the 24th of July: "The display of the holy flag has been considered necessary; but in view of *certain possibilities*, it has been thought best not to have recourse to this measure."—*Ahmed Mithad's official record of the war.*

general principle of remaining quiet as long as they are let alone. But at length Suleiman Pasha has broken the silence by a tremendous assault upon the Shipka pass in the Balkans. A mere handful of Russian troops held the position, however, until reinforcements arrived and beat off the Turks. The Russian relief forces had had to come under fire long before they reached the contested works, for Suleiman Pasha's troops had nearly surrounded the little garrison on the mountain top. In Asia there has been a renewal of activity. General Melikoff has gathered a large army and is advancing from the frontier toward Kars. He has not had very good success in his first encounter with the Turkish army, having been defeated in an attempt to occupy, August 18th, an important position to the south of the fortress.

In Adrianople and Philippopolis courts-martial are constantly in session to try Bulgarians, who are charged with having aided the Russians during the raid of General Gourko. What manner of trials these are no man can tell, but the victims are being exiled and hung by groups. Forty or fifty Bulgarians have been hung in the neighborhood of Adrianople within three weeks. Universal terror exists among the Bulgarians of the whole district of Philippopolis. No man's life seems to be safe in the presence of the storm of hate excited by the welcome which the Bulgarians gave to the Russians.

Muhtar Pasha has become disgusted with the Kourdish Bashi Bozouks in his army. They are always ready to destroy the sustenance of his troops by their plundering, and are always certain, in battle, to test the steadiness of his troops, by their cowardly flight when

the balls begin to whistle. One of these Kourdish braves was lately recounting to an admiring audience his military experience, and said that it was useless to fight against the Russians, for they used magic. On being asked for an explanation, the fellow said: "They have a way of moving the very heavens, so that the stars fall to earth in the midst of our army, and breaking into pieces, kill hundreds of men." This Kourd merely told the truth, for he had never heard of bomb-shells, and described their effect as seen by himself.

The Government has organized a home guard in this city. The whole male population is to be enrolled, and is to drill, and to wear uniforms. Moslems alone have as yet been enrolled, and the organization of the first battalions was celebrated with great solemnity by prayers and by the sacrifice of sheep upon the various drill grounds. This custom of sacrifice is one of the many ceremonies which Mohammed borrowed from the Jews. The sacrifices are made on any solemn occasion, such as the laying of a corner-stone, or the commencement of a new year.

The theory of the Sultan's Government is that it should exercise paternal care over the welfare of the people of the empire. Every man who lives in Turkey, lives under the protecting shadow of the Sultan. Every enterprise is initiated under the shadow of the Sultan, and under this shadow men find the means of livelihood. It is not quite clear whether the Turks regard the heavenly bodies as performing their functions under this shadow. But the parental regard of the Sultan for his people has led to the issue of a proclamation, printed a few days ago in the official journal of the empire, on the subject of an eclipse of the moon. This proclama-

tion urges the people to be calm, and to fear nothing, for scientific men declare that the eclipse of the moon is in no way a supernatural event. It adds that the people will be allowed to shout and to beat tin pans in their efforts to hasten the close of the eclipse, but that the police will draw the line at tin pans. No guns or pistols may be fired upon this occasion. This is a very sensible order, for the people who seek to frighten away the dragon that is wrestling with the moon use bullets.

I had an amusing illustration, a few days ago, of the extent to which the fiction concerning the restful shadow of the sovereign is carried. I was walking with some ladies in the grounds of the Sultan's palace. The day was intensely hot, and all of our party carried umbrellas. An officer soon came up to me and remarked, with great courtesy, that while ladies were permitted to carry umbrellas in the grounds of the palace, etiquette did not allow that privilege to gentlemen. "For," said he, "it is not courteous to suggest by such an act that the shadow of the Sultan is not sufficient for us all." So I had to shut my umbrella, and continued my walk under the full heat of the scorching sun.

September 12*th.*—Redif Pasha, the ex-minister of war, has been ordered again and again to appear before the court-martial. This he has positively refused to do, and the court has broken up, finding the case insoluble. This leaves no doubt of the motives of Mahmoud Damad Pasha, in assigning himself to duty on the court. The overthrow of the ministerial ring was only feigned, and unless Mahmoud Damad Pasha can be finally put out of office, he will ultimately rotate Redif into prominent position again. Redif Pasha, with five companions in adversity, has been sent "to reside at Lemnos," and has had the

impudence to telegraph back that they conclude on the whole not to go to Lemnos, but will live at Scio instead. Beggars are choosers in Turkey. It is again rumored to-day, that Mahmoud Damad is out of favor, and is about to be plunged in abysses of cold despair. The ways of palace intrigue are not fathomable, and the Sultan may yet get rid of his incubus.

We are in full enjoyment of the month of Ramazan. If we are good Moslems we arise when the gun fires, at half-past three every morning, to eat a sumptuous breakfast, with the wretched certainty that the lack of appetite inseparable from that unearthly hour will be bitterly regretted before the day is done. After our hopeless breakfast, we shall lounge around in a feeble way until half-past twelve, when, according to the orders just issued, we must, if employed in Government departments, go to the bureau for work, and must work at least four hours with what energy we can get out of an empty stomach. Then we shall sally forth to gossip on the streets, taking care not to look at any woman, and seeing to it, above all, that we do not smile at any woman. The lynx-eyed police, which has suddenly multiplied on the streets, has for a principal business the arrest of men who shall be seen to profane this blessed month by ogling women. At the end of the long dreary day we go to the steamer which is to carry us up the Bosphorus. For thirteen hours we have not eaten, we have not moistened our parched lips, and more than all, for thirteen hours we have not smoked. So we roll up our cigarette and break into convenient morsels the bread and cheese we bought on the bridge, and sit on the steamer and contemplate the result of these preparations with impatient clutchings of our watch and

strainings of the ear to catch the first sound of cannon. At last comes the booming, echoing sunset gun, and with a coolness amazing to ourselves, we devour our bread and light our cigarette, and drink a glass of water, and are no more surly, quarrelsome wretches, but men. At home we have a grand feast, which lasts far into night, and then we sleep a few hours. In Ramazan all great men keep open house, and any one who chooses may drop in for a meal at sunset. This year it is announced that this custom will not be observed, as the country needs the money men would squander on their tables. As a good example, the Grand Vezir has given to the refugee fund 12,000 piasters, and the foreign minister 10,000, saved in this way from household expenses. Ramazan has always been the vacation of Turkish departments. Even in the post office they tell you that you may come by night if you want your letters, and the telegrams which arrive during the day are not delivered until after the evening meal has set men free. The war does not permit such delightful loitering, however, and the departments are forced to keep up their normal pressure of business, for which the Russian Giaours are roundly cursed as "enemies of humanity."

The operations of the Ottoman army upon the coast of Circassia have come to an end. The last man has left Soukhoum Kalé, and many of the troops lately engaged in the scramble for life among those mountains are already well on their way by railway to the Balkans. Forty-five thousand refugees from the coast of the Caucasus have been discharged upon the southern coast of the Black Sea, in a pitiable condition.* The singular spectacle is now presented of appeals to sym-

pathetic purses in behalf of the poor suffering Circassians. Other refugees are still flocking into the city from various parts of European Turkey. These are mostly Moslems, and all quite as much moved by a laudable desire to visit Constantinople, and to get a modicum of Government pap, as by any pressing fear of the mighty Cossacks. Government allows them transportation for almost anything up to horses and wagons.*

The hideous work of the Adrianople and Philippopolis courts-martial continues. Yesterday and day before fifty-six more Bulgarians were hung at various points in the province of Adrianople. These cases are not new ones. The men were arrested in the proscribed region, when the Russians fell back, and their turn is but just come. The Turks of the better class are beginning to be horror-stricken at the wholesale slaughter. The people executed are not from Adrianople or Philippopolis, but from a district comprised within a circle of thirty miles radius, described about Eski Zagra. The boundary is sharply defined; beyond it the Bulgarians are living in peace and quiet, if such is possible when these scenes are being enacted before their very doors. Only thirty miles northeast of this district, you will even find a Bulgarian governor ruling the town of Kasan to the perfect satisfaction of the Turks.

In Constantinople, all the Bulgarians from the Eski Zagra and Kezanlik region who have not gone to Europe have been arrested. Many of them have lain in the murderer's prison without trial for some weeks. One, a boy of seventeen, had influential friends. His story interested Mr. Layard, who heard it at noon of

a Saturday, and turning to one of his dragomans, he said: "Have this boy released at once." The dragoman went to the city, ten miles away, and at four o'clock that afternoon the boy was free, which shows that Mr. Layard has influence with the Turkish Government.

Suleiman Pasha has continued his assaults upon the Shipka pass, but without success. He has placed batteries upon the mountains which flank the pass, but the Russian army still holds the rocky cone of St. Nicholas and the road at its base. The losses of the Turks have been fearful. Full three thousand wounded men from Shipka pass have already been brought here, and every second day long ghastly trains of wounded arrive by rail. There are now three foreign agencies at work caring for these poor creatures, besides the local society, which collects lint and bandages from the harems of high and low rank.

As to the rest of the field, news of success continually delights the people of our city. Mehmet Ali Pasha, with intent to relieve the pressure upon Plevna, has advanced from the quadrilateral across the river Lom, gaining two important victories over the left wing of the Russian army in Bulgaria; and at the same time Osman Pasha has sallied forth from Plevna to attack the forces now directly in his front. He claims to have gained a victory, but returned to his works, and a week later (September 7th) had the chagrin of losing Lovcha, an important outpost of his position, situated twenty miles to the south of Plevna. The time is a favorable one for the Turks to press all advantages in Bulgaria, for the Russian army has been much shaken by its defeats. But there is a lack of unity in the movements of the

three Turkish armies. Mehmet Ali Pasha was appointed commander-in-chief, and both Osman and Suleiman have been directed to act under his orders. But the commission of the conduct of the war, which deliberates in this city, persists in supervising Mehmet Ali's movements, to an extent which makes independent action impossible; while both Suleiman and Osman have, with Mehmet Ali, been informed by the Sultan that the greatest rewards of the empire will be conferred upon that general who exhibits the greatest ability in the destruction of Russian armies. This latter action would seem to insure the development of a jealousy between the three generals which will prevent their working in concert. All of the armies are moreover hampered beyond description by a lack of wagons, which makes free movement impossible, and which imparts immense difficulty to the mere task of maintaining the troops in their several camps.

In Asia Ahmed Muhtar Pasha made a brilliant dash, August 25th, at a Russian detachment occupying the extinct volcano of Kizil Tepé in front of Kars, capturing the position and entirely destroying the force which held it. This brought on a general engagement, in which General Melikof was once more defeated with severe loss. Since that date absolutely nothing has occurred in the Asiatic part of the field, save that Ismail Pasha has had daily skirmishes with General Tergoukasof's forces near the base of Mt. Ararat. The other day he captured a Russian courier, with many thousand dollars in Russian bank notes. The Turks are ever anxious to inflict loss upon their enemy, and therefore, with every mark of contempt, they *burned* the whole of these bank notes. Few of the common people can

understand how this destruction of Russian property is an advantage to the Czar, for which he has reason to be grateful to the Kourds of Ismail Pasha!

Muhtar Pasha does not press his advantage upon General Melikof, partly because of his lack of transportation, and partly because of his high respect for the powers of the Russian army. He is a brave man and a general of considerable ability. But as the Turks say, "He who has once burned his mouth with hot soup will ever pause to blow even cold water."

Recruits for the armies continue to pour into the city. The number of the new levies gives rise to a rumor that the ministry has discovered that in some of the more distant provinces there is quite a list of villages which have been hitherto unknown, the local officials having banded together to conceal them, in order to divide the taxes collected from them. Whether this rumor be true or not, the implied ignorance and corruption are by no means impossible in this country.

September 19th.—Sunday, shortly after midnight, I was awakened by a strange noise which was not quite a din and yet which dominated all other sounds. This was the combined voice of hundreds of bass drums beaten with might and main in the streets of all Constantinople, in honor of the new repulse of the Russian army from Plevna. The myriads of lamps hung on the minarets, as is usual in Ramazan, and which had been allowed to burn out, were now restored to their pristine brilliance. The streets, the squares, the coffee-shops, were full of people who were discussing with the utmost enthusiasm the bulletins just published by the war office. On every lip was the word: "It is God's judgment on the proud!" and in fact the Turkish public

was as near being greatly excited as possible. The Russians, under the eye of the Czar, bombarded the works at Plevna for a week, and then, upon the 11th and 12th of September, assaulted along the whole line. The result was the same as in previous attacks. The Russian troops were repulsed with fearful losses, which the Turks estimate at from ten thousand to twelve thousand men. But to return to the celebration of the victory: The night was dark, and as I looked off from my hill upon the great city, partly hidden by a white mist which filled the harbor and covered the valleys, I could see none of the deeper shadows, but only the lights on the minarets, which seemed to float in mid-air above the sea of mist. Between the minarets, lamps were so hung that they formed words in Arabic. Just above the horizon, on the left, blazed the words, "Bismillah irrahman irrehim,"—the invocation of the name of the Merciful. Over the mosque of Noori Osmaniyé was "Oh, Gracious One!" High over the dome of the mosque of Suleiman the Magnificent, you could read in letters of tremulous light, "Mahomet sent of God;" and far around to the right was written on the sky, in letters of gold, "Allah Ekber," the old war cry of the armies of the Prophet. In the minds of the surging crowds of Moslems which filled the streets, the whole arch of heaven was transformed into the dome of a vast cathedral; its base inscribed in letters of fire with the phrases dear to the hearts of the faithful. And one could not doubt that this cathedral magnificence thrilled the hearts of the joyous multitude below as they gazed upon the evidence of the glory of Islam in the legends written on the sky.

The splendid fighting of the Turkish soldiers has aston-

ished every one, because it is in such strong contrast with the feeble efforts which they made early in the war. The change is due to a final awakening to which the entire people have come, by which they are beginning to realize that the question is one of life and death. This awakening is the work of the refugees who have really been in contact with the Russians. Their tales and proof of outrages committed by the Bulgarians and Cossacks upon Moslems, have deeply moved the popular heart. The other day I was crossing the Bosphorus in a caique, and passed some lighters full of refugees, who looked so wretched that I said, "Poor creatures." The Turkish boatman burst out with a vehemence which astonished me. "Yes, they are poor creatures, and the Great God will never bless the Russians who have made them poor creatures. May His curse follow them, and may they get from Him their deserts!"

The Turkish successes are partly due to the advice of some of the best strategists in Europe. The Hungarian General Klapka is known to be a trusted adviser to the Turks. The popular belief is that Von Moltke, after giving the Russians a plan of campaign, has with laudable impartiality accorded the Turks a similar favor, and watches with peculiar interest the developments which result. The feverish activity of the provincial authorities in forwarding the new levies has also told in the campaign. The railway to Adrianople and Philippopolis has carried an average of two thousand men per day to the front during the whole of August. And, finally, Mr. Winchester, of New Haven, and the Providence Tool Company have exercised a potent influence in prolonging this Turkish defense. The guns which they make greatly excel those of European manufacture!

The Government but partially participates in the enthusiasm of the people over the victory at Plevna, for Osman Pasha has proposed to abandon this place. His losses have been very heavy, and his ammunition has nearly given out. It is said that the Sultan has decided that Plevna must be held at all hazards, and is ordering reinforcements and supplies to be sent from Sophia by way of Orhanié, which will fill the gaps made by the recent battles in the ranks of the Plevna corps. At the same time positive orders have been sent to both Suleiman Pasha and Mehmet Ali to move vigorously for the relief of Osman, by demonstrations along the whole line.

The Turkish general who commanded at Ardahan when the place was captured by General Melikof has been tried by a preliminary court-martial. It is said that the real cause of the loss of the place was that the reserve ammunition was of one caliber while the rifles of the garrison were of a different one. The published finding of the court, however, states that the loss of Ardahan was due first, to the fact that the defenses of the place were erected upon low ground; second, to the insufficient number of cannon in the forts; and third, to the fact that the garrison fled from the place. This model record of the causes of the disaster does not, unfortunately, suggest any reason for the punishment of the general who was sent to defend an untenable fortress. The secret of the fact that he has been remanded for trial for his life is in the thirst of the populace for a victim on whom to be revenged for the earliest disaster of the war.

September 24th.—Another spasm of joy, followed by a reaction of bitter discontent, has swept over our city.

On the 17th Suleiman Pasha again attacked the heights of the Shipka pass, and actually captured the Russian fort on the rock of St. Nicholas. This news, with all the usual aids to popular excitement, was instantly published throughout the city. But the first announcement was followed by no details, and is now contradicted by the mails from Europe. It seems that the Turkish force which stormed St. Nicholas, not having been supported by other troops, was afterward cut to pieces by the Russian reserves. Suleiman Pasha's army, already terribly weakened by a series of desperate assaults upon this mountain fastness, abandoning all thoughts of aid to Osman Pasha's force at Plevna, must now limit its operations to the work of holding the Shipka pass against any Russian advance. This result is undoubtedly the fruit of the circular which invited the Turkish generals to strive separately for the rewards of victory. The Government, terribly chagrined, has not dared to make known its reverse, and so has left the people for several days in ignorance of the final result of the assault on St. Nicholas.

Meanwhile bad news has come from the army of the Danube quadrilateral. Its commander, Mehmet Ali Pasha, having been accused of over-caution, was peremptorily ordered by the war commission here to attack with desperation the Russian forces in his front. He replied that the lack of transportation made movement well nigh impossible, but notwithstanding this, on the 21st he undertook to carry out his orders. On that day, with the object of breaking through the Russian lines and advancing upon Tirnova, he struck out from Cherkovna toward the right of the Russian position on the Yantra River. His attack was repulsed, and he at

once fell back behind the river Lom, abandoning all the territory gained by the battles of the last four weeks.

All of these circumstances have very much exasperated the Moslem population of our city. The people feel that the Government is incompetent, and that they must take things into their own hands. For this reason our position here once more seems to be critical. Any little disturbance may grow into a riot with disastrous results. An insignificant incident, which occurred on the Galata bridge to-day, showed me how fully Government officials recognize this fact. A soldier devoured a peach taken from a fruit peddler's basket. The fruiterer demanded two cents, and the soldier struck him in the face. The fruit peddler, who, like the soldier, was a Moslem, struck back. A crowd assembled in a moment, and people were beginning to take sides with one or the other of the disputants, when an army officer elbowed his way into the ring. This gentleman held the hands of the soldier, while he ordered the peddler to take up his baskets and be off. Then as the man hastened away, glad to escape so easily, the officer roared after him, "Fool, do you not know better than to make a fuss about a peach at such a time, when your two cent fuss may easily become a thousand dollar row?"

Mehmet Ali Pasha has been relieved of the command of the army of the quadrilateral. The fiery Suleiman Pasha succeeds him in this position.*

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* The removal of Mehmet Ali Pasha was due to a misunderstanding. The Sultan, in one of his dispatches to the War Commission, quoted by Ahmed Mithad, explains that this removal was based upon the statements of various individuals and the censure of the newspaper correspondents. Afterward Mehmet Ali explained that his retreat was in reality a manœuvre for a new position, and the Sultan restored him to favor, giving him a high command in Bosnia.

The Montenegrins, who have been left free from pressure by the withdrawal of the Turkish troops, have been besieging the fortress of Nicksics. The plucky German officer who commanded the Turkish garrison held out until his supplies were exhausted and his last cartridge fired. Then he surrendered the fort, which he has held for five months against overwhelming odds. The Montenegrins allowed him to march out with all the honors of war.

The wounded soldiers now here are about five thousand, distributed in fifteen hospitals, which are kept in the best of order. There are only about fifty severe cases in all this number of wounded. The severely wounded have died on the field, except a few who are being cared for at the Philippopolis and Adrianople hospitals. Baron Mundy, of the Red Cross Society, formerly of the Water-cure at Florence, Massachusetts, is here, and is about to go to the front, to establish a great hospital of his own. The amount of foreign aid now being afforded Turkish wounded is very great. The Turkish people contribute lint, bandages, clothing, and tobacco; but money is scarce, and where money is needed it comes from abroad.

The private soldiers among these men express great contempt for their officers. This feeling is often well-founded. I have been told that the only reason why Reouf Pasha, who commanded in the battle of Yeni Zagra, now lives, is that in that action he kept so far to the rear as to be out of range of the bullets fired at him by his own men. Turkish soldiers are always ready to obey officers whom they can trust. The wounded men from Shipka are unbounded in their praise of Suleiman Pasha. But they give a comical

reason for his successes. If Suleiman Pasha orders one of his brigadier-generals to take a certain position, it has to be taken. If the man fails, Suleiman Pasha calls for a guard, and has the general's uniform stripped off, and sometimes even has him shot on the spot. "I assure you," said the soldier, "that in Montenegro Suleiman Pasha had several brigadier-generals shot for failing to take positions they had been ordered to carry. And if he treats brigadier-generals so, you can imagine what he does to subalterns who disobey. He has killed lots of them." Of course the story of Suleiman Pasha shooting brigadier-generals off-hand has not the amount of foundation that one might wish. But it shows that his men have a wholesome fear of him as a disciplinarian.

The Government is beginning to be anxious about ammunition. It is true the *John Bramall* has just arrived from New Haven with a full cargo, but the Turks cannot be dependent on the American factories for everything. So they fill the cartridge shells sent from New Haven. They cannot get lead enough here, and have not money to buy it abroad. This poverty is one of the signs of coming distress which every one expected the Government to show some months ago. Although the Porte has ample reasons for wishing peace, the people are not in a mood to accept it just now. With them enthusiasm for war is only now fairly aroused.

The distress among the people who have been driven by war from their homes is very great. Charity is doing something for them, but curiously enough, charity is impeded by the passions excited by the war. In several cases, foreigners and others engaged in relief work have hesitated to aid Bulgarian refugees, for fear of

exasperating the Turks. The Government issues rations to all refugees in this city. That is to say, it gives to each person one and three-quarter pounds of bread every day. If the refugees have other needs they have to hold them in abeyance. The Government has ordered destitute Bulgarian children to be sent for maintenance to the various Turkish villages of the districts about Adrianople. This decree is worded in the most benevolent of phrases, but it simply means that all Bulgarian orphans who can be picked up are to be transformed by this process into Mohammedans. This benevolent measure, therefore, excites great indignation.

A large party of recruits from Conia, in the heart of Asia Minor, has just passed under my window. They were strong, hearty fellows, with an unusual proportion of heavy black beards in their ranks. They were dressed in white cotton clothes, and these clothes were so ragged as barely to cover them. Yet they marched with heads erect, to the music of a curious drum of extremely ancient construction. They carried a flag of red cotton inscribed with texts from the Koran, and they seemed quite content with their position. This detachment was exceptionally a body of mature men. The recent levies are bringing up to the capital a great number of boys hardly sixteen years of age. The Government professes to take no recruits under eighteen; but, since no record of births is ever kept, the officials are forced to have recourse to the rule of the string for determining the military fitness of young men. The rule of the string is this: a bit of twine is used to ascertain the circumference of the neck of the youth. If this circumference is less than the length of

the face, the boy is under eighteen. But if the circumference is equal to the length of the face, the young fellow is of military age.

Troops come and go daily, but in these critical times the people are not to learn the secrets which the troops might tell. So the movement of troops in most cases takes place by night.

October 5th.—The Zeitinbornou Powder Works blew up yesterday morning. The shock of the explosion made the houses of the city rock on their foundations, and a pillar of smoke a thousand feet wide rose full a mile high in the air. The powder made during the past month, as well as the machinery and buildings, vanished, as it were, in a moment. A great quantity of cartridges and fixed ammunition in other buildings a quarter of a mile away was not injured. The Government speaks reverently of the explosion as being from "the hand of God," and then makes light of its effects. But the loss cannot be passed over so easily, as the greater part of the rifle cartridges and all the artillery ammunition used by the army was prepared at these works. The copper cartridge cases for the small arms are made in America, but filled here.*

General Melikof has once more attacked Muhtar Pasha's army before Kars. The attack began on the 2nd, and the Russians captured the Turkish works on the Yaghni Hill, on the left of Muhtar's position. But on the 4th Melikof was obliged to return to his former lines, having lost about three thousand men in the course

* A few days after this the Sultan directed secret orders to be sent to Suleiman Pasha, the commander-in-chief of the army of the Danube, instructing him to suspend active operations for economical reasons.—*Ahmed Mithad's "Zubdet ul Hakaik."*

of the two days' operations. The people are once more elated over this new victory, but the Government is much disturbed because Muhtar, evidently outnumbered, is holding a line much longer than can be properly defended. Orders have been issued for reinforcements to be sent to him. The sending of such orders is easy, but the finding of the reinforcements is quite another thing.

The military situation is anything but reassuring. The army in the quadrilateral confines its operations to heavy reconnoissances. The army at Shipka is effectually held in idleness by the strength of the Russian forces opposed to it. The army at Plevna has been reinforced after a sharp fight near Dubnik, and some supplies have been thrown into the place. But it has taken full three weeks to overcome the inertia of the generals sufficiently to get this first convoy actually into Plevna. The distance which the Plevna convoys have to traverse is about eighty miles. Added to the difficulties of the war with Russia are difficulties that arise from the lesser war with Montenegro. The Montenegrins are pressing forward into Herzegovina, and the Turkish troops are too few to drive them back. The Government has sent order after order to the commanders both on the north and on the south of the principality, directing them to concentrate their forces and to act in strong columns. But the generals persist in regarding the protection of the population of insignificant villages as their first duty, and thus scatter their forces in such a manner as to destroy all chance of checking the advance of the enemy. This state of affairs causes perpetual weariness of soul to the ministry and the Sultan. They have few officials whom they can really

trust, and are forced into makeshifts of every description. They have ordered troops from Bosnia to march against Montenegro, and the general commanding the department replies that he can spare no troops, and that the forces on the Montenegrin frontier are sufficient, since the general there has with his army 5,000 Bashi Bozouks and four battalions of armed police. This statement, telegraphed by the War Department here to the commander in question, brings the reply that he must have aid from Bosnia, for he has only 285 Bashi Bozouks and 185 policemen in his whole command. The ministry is naturally in despair at such contradictory statements from its own generals. Meanwhile the Albanian mountaineers on the south of Montenegro are showing signs of discontent, and the general in command there has asked for $25,000 in gold to purchase the loyalty of their chiefs. The Government, though sorely pressed for money, has sent the cash, and with it orders to make things doubly sure by arresting the chiefs after he has bribed them.

Another difficulty which the ministers have to meet is the question of providing winter clothes for the army. Nothing has yet been done toward this, and the snow has already begun to fall in the mountain camps of Shipka. An edict has now gone forth, directing the police to station officials at all the slaughter-houses in the city, in order to seize every sheepskin as it comes from the animal. The purpose of this order is to supply the Shipka forces with a rude protection against the weather. The sheepskins are to be dressed, and made into waistcoats and trousers for the troops. Orders have been sent to all the military commanders to seize, for the same purpose, the pelts of all sheep slaughtered for

food in their various departments. The war has now been in progress for five months, and its results have on the whole been favorable to the Turks. Yet the Government is already depressed and exhausted, as if the Russians had succeeded in invading the whole land. The treasury is empty; business is suspended, owing to the unsettled condition of the country, and the people, who have contributed over two millions of dollars in "voluntary" contributions, to carry on the war, are in daily increasing misery.

October 10th.—The Turks have at last ended their fast with the great Baïram festival. The salutes from the fleet at the five hours of prayer, and the ships decked in flags, testify to the popular joy; but not so much as does the sight of bearded men and laughing children eating cakes and candy together at all times and places, in sheer delight at freedom to eat once more at will. There was the usual pageant of the state march of the Sultan from the Seraglio to the mosque of Sultan Ahmed, and there was the usual display of fine dress among the people, only that its chief extravagance was seen among the children, who at five years old and upward blazed in the uniform of major-generals or in blue satin ball-dresses. But this has been a rainy Baïram, and furthermore, among the gaily-dressed people on the streets one continually meets gaunt men, all in rags, with arm in sling or head bound up. No good Turk can meet one of these brave fellows thus in rags without feeling ashamed of his own new broadcloth. Moreover, there are twenty-five thousand refugees in the city, whose fate, when winter comes, already causes anxiety. Altogether, it has not been a happy Baïram for the Turks. I called out to a

Greek fruiterer to-night, as I passed his shop, "Well, Yanni, have you made plenty of money this Baïram?" "Oh, no," said he, "this is not like one of the old-time Baïrams. The Pashas used to have the fruit packed, and sent to them, and then call for the bill; this time they call for the bill first, and then have only half of the fruit packed."

The new Civic Guard paraded in force, for the first time, at the Baïram ceremonial. Several battalions of this force are from the highest Turkish society, and wear broadcloth uniforms and patent-leather belts and indulge in kid gloves. One battalion even indulges in nickel-plated rifle barrels. But in spite of a slight tendency to foppishness, they have quickly become martial in bearing. It is an odd circumstance that although these men are all Turks and all Moslems, there are several battalions in which probably every man can read his tactics in French. The guard is, however, not warlike. It has declined to go with the Sultan to Adrianople or to accompany him every Friday when he goes to mosque. This service, regarded as an honor of the first degree by the people at large, is considered an intolerable bore by the members of the Guard. The fact is, our good-looking broadcloth soldiers have never yet learned discipline, and they are disappointed to find that there is more and more of discipline the further they progress in the study of military affairs. The ideal soldier, in their view, is a civilian who has a military uniform and a Martini-Henry rifle hanging at the head of his bed, so that when the bugle blows he may go forth, weather permitting, and confront the foe. The rains of the equinoctial began the disenchantment, and an order enforcing the law as to storing the rifles

in the regimental armories has given umbrage to many members. It is evident, even thus early, that there will be difficulty in maintaining the Guard at the proper standard of efficiency—so rapidly change the likes and the hopes of the Turks. Unstable as water, they cannot excel. The Civic Guard is composed very largely of Government employees. The aggregate number of these employees is very great. Fully ninety per cent. of the Moslem inhabitants of Constantinople are said to be either in the pay of the Government, or in receipt of pensions. The pay is not large, but it is enough to afford each man a reserve to fall back upon in case of need. The father, mother, sons, and daughters in a household very frequently have each a separate allowance from some Government department. In one family the mother has one hundred piasters a month, the daughter fifty, and each of the sons sixty. The sons have also a clerkship apiece, with a separate salary. In the quarter of the city where this happy family resides, out of two hundred Moslem families only three are without Government pay. This is drawn with great regularity, even in these times. These pensioned inhabitants of Constantinople are, of course, the retainers of the Government through thick and thin, and give to the Government somewhat the character of a mutual company. They are, as a class, arrogant toward the unpaid herd, as is the military class toward civilians.

Government has at last drawn up a code of law for the better control of Circassians at the front. All Circassians must be organized, with officers chosen from their own ranks. No Circassian may leave camp to sell his booty without leave, but the general commanding will give every opportunity to Circassians to convey

their booty to a market. The principal defect in this code is, that the consent of the Circassians has not been obtained, and the Government will have a hard time enforcing it.

From Adrianople come pitiable stories of the terror which reigns among the people there. The court-martial has ceased hanging Bulgarians in the city itself, but it still does a good deal of hanging in the villages, carrying the victims out from the city for the purpose. This is a little inconvenient, but it prevents the facts from becoming known. Great numbers of Bulgarians have been banished and imprisoned in the southern fortresses, and the people of Adrianople are unable to inform the newspaper men or the consuls as to the fate of those who are sent off by train every day or two. The condemned and the exiled are all sent off together, with no distinguishing mark, and the men who are to be hanged are themselves not informed of this fact, until they are put off the train at some way station and see the rope before their eyes. It is difficult to understand the principle upon which the court-martial acts. The military commandant of Adrianople, Jemil Pasha, gets credit with the people for all the savagery of the court. He is delicate and refined, talks French and English, and wears kid gloves, offers his arm to Lady Strangford, and conducts her through the hospitals with infinite grace. But he is a merciless soldier, and the people believe him to be really the controller of the court-martial. This court has been arresting, in Adrianople itself, all Bulgarian men who are from Eski Zagra or the surrounding region. One Bulgarian, with a saber cut on the head and a fearful wound in the hip, which he received from a Circassian who was robbing his house at

Yeni Zagra in July, was living in a Greek family in Adrianople, unsuspicious of evil. He supposed that he had a right to exist, unless he forfeited the right by deed of his own. Some Jews saw him and reported him to the Government. That night soldiers came and arrested five other Bulgarians, who were living with this man. The wounded man himself escaped to another refuge. His five companions were all hanged the next morning, seemingly without a trial. Another Bulgarian, a poor, miserable ragman, has been known for fifteen years in Adrianople as an inoffensive, half-witted person. He has been arrested, and is in prison, simply because he was born in Eski Zagra. His neighbors, and even Turks, testified that the man has not seen Eski Zagra for more than ten years, but this testimony has not availed. Another Bulgarian, with his father-in-law, left Yeni Zagra just before General Gourko's Cossacks appeared on the scene. They came to Adrianople, because they wished to be out of the way of the contending armies. Neither of them had any part in the abortive rising of the Bulgarians. But the father-in-law was hanged last week, with a great placard on his breast, which falsely set forth that he had distributed arms among the Bulgarians of Yeni Zagra. Very many of the victims of the court-martial are undoubtedly guilty of Bulgarian nationality more than of anything else, that is, the evidence of the actual perpetration of crimes worthy of death is often very slight. But the Bulgarians, as a people, have too much indulged in reprisals upon the Moslems since power has come into their hands, and the severity shown toward these victims is in great measure due to that fact. I am told that in Bulgaria the people hang about the

skirts of the Russian army and descend upon the battle fields like vultures to rob the dead. They also go into Turkish villages and, putting on the airs of conquerors, levy large sums upon the Moslem inhabitants, or rob their shops, or pollute their places of worship, as at Sistov, Bièla, and Tirnova. The Bulgarians do not, unfortunately, limit their evil deeds to such bloodless achievements. In several cases they have outraged Moslem women, afterward maiming or killing them. In one place in the Balkans, the Bulgarians killed over a hundred Moslem women and children, besides disfiguring the bodies. Even the friends of the Bulgarians are often disgusted by Bulgarian brutality. But it must be remembered that their people have been brought up to believe in the law of retaliation, and that their civilization is still largely the civilization of two hundred years ago. The Bulgarian race has capabilities of development which perhaps exceed those of other Christian races subject to Turkey. These examples of brutality show that in their present state the Bulgarians are, like the other races of Turkey, incapable of justly dealing with those who fall into their power. But they prove nothing whatever against the character of Bulgarians as subjects for education and civilization.

CHAPTER V.

THE TURNING OF THE TIDE.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *October 24th*, 1877.

FOR several days, rumors have informed us of a severe defeat of the Turkish forces in Armenia. Finally the Government issued a dispatch from Muhtar Pasha, which gave no satisfactory statement of the battle, but admitted his defeat, and closed with the phrase, "I am now at Kars, and am engaged in beseeching the aid of God in the matter of taking my revenge upon the Russians."

The European mails, however, bring us details which show that this revenge may have to wait some time. On the 15th, General Melikof attacked the Turkish army, and cutting it in two, drove a portion into Kars, and captured two divisions with all their camps, stores, ammunition, and thirty-six pieces of artillery. This defeat effectually disposes of Muhtar Pasha's army. As a Turk said to me to-day, "Unless the snow comes, our work in Asia is finished."

But the people do not realize the extent of this disaster. With its usual lack of frankness, the Government at first gave the people an official statement that the right wing of Muhtar's force is established in its positions on the Alaja Mountains, where it has plenty of provisions, and is fully able to resist the enemy; and

secondly placed on record, by the side of the news in the European papers, the announcement that in the progress of the battle, thirty battalions were cut off in the Alaja Mountains; but that of these, twenty-seven battalions hewed a way through the Russian lines and escaped, only leaving some guns in the mountains! The Government further announces that the army of Ismail Pasha has been ordered to fall back from its position at Mount Ararat, and that troops and artillery have been sent from Constantinople, and Batoum, and have been ordered to Erzroom from all parts of the country, so that Muhtar will soon be able to take the field again. I judge, however, from some indications, that the Government is not so sanguine as it professes to be.

The troops at Shipka are beginning to suffer severely from the winter storms which sweep down upon them on the heights and in the gorges of the great Balkans. The Turks try to feel comforted with the thought that if they suffer in those inhospitable wilds, their enemies too must suffer. They even hope that the winter may drive the Russians out of the Shipka pass; but in this hope the generals on the spot do not share.

The other day the Sultan telegraphed to the general in command at Shipka, asking if the men are housed and comfortable. The reply of the commander was characteristic. He said: "Thanks be to God, all the soldiers are housed and are comfortable in spite of the severe weather, for under the shadow of the Sultan they have everything, and are occupied with prayers for long life to His Majesty."

But the Sultan pressed the general with questions, and at length drew out, by piecemeal, the facts in the

case. None of the sheepskins have yet been made up for the troops; only 6,000 skins have reached Shipka, while at least twice that number are needed; the troops are doing duty amid snow and ice, but are clad only in the ragged remains of the clothing served out to them last June at the beginning of the campaign in Montenegro; while, in the words of the general, "shoes and stockings ought to be sent on at once, in quantity sufficient to supply at least the men who stand on picket." The general felt that it would be impolite to trouble the Sultan with such details, and so withheld them until forced to make them known. The concealment of disagreeable facts from the Sultan is not rare. The defeat of Muhtar Pasha's army was for three days kept secret from him.

The picture here presented of the condition of the forces at Shipka is not encouraging to the Turks. The lack of money in the treasury doubtless has to do with the present lamentable condition of the troops. Yet reasonable foresight might two months ago have provided the equipment which is now to be sent to this army. The Turkish soldier is often the victim of the carelessness of his officers. His main characteristic is patient endurance of adversity, and is often severely tried by official imbecility. The officers of the army curse the soldiers, knock them about, demand of them menial services, and subject them, on the smallest pretext, to punishment by the lash. With all this they rarely look out for the comfort of their men. But the soldiers endure every hardship, as a necessary part of the military life. The patience of these men at Shipka is not mere stolidity. They endure because they believe that duty requires them to endure. It fairly makes

one's blood boil to think of those simple-hearted, brave men, unpaid, and but half fed, clinging barefoot, and in rags, to the icy flanks of that mountain, faithful to their trust, and obedient without murmurs to every order, and yet left to shiver under the Balkan storms through the incompetence of their officers.

An ingenious Turk, desirous of affording our people some little amusement, lately got up a raffle for a Circassian girl. The prize was young and beautiful. The tickets were unexceptionably cheap, being sold at one hundred piasters in paper. This in the present condition of the currency made the cost of each ticket about a dollar and a half in gold. Unfortunately some meddlesome foreigner chanced to hear of the raffle, and reported it. An indignant remonstrance from a foreign ambassador sent the Turkish police to the spot. The owner of the girl soon found himself in prison, while his fair slave was taken to a place of safety. The ticket-holders are now wishing in vain for their money, and are asking whether the interference of Europeans is never to cease troubling the peace of the inhabitants of Turkey.

October 30th.—A wretched Bulgarian from the Balkans, brought here by order of a court-martial, was hung to-day on the square at the head of the bridge that leads from the old city across the Golden Horn to Galata. This bridge is a crowded thoroughfare, and the gallows, a low tripod of rough poles, was erected close to the bridge head, so that all passers were forced to see the horrid sight. A large placard fastened to the man's breast declared that he had been convicted of the murder of peaceable Moslem villagers, and was sent to this city for execution in order to terrify all

evil-doers. Unhappily no confidence can be placed in the verdict of the court, and the man may or may not have been guilty of the alleged crime.

The anxiety as to Muhtar Pasha's army continues to be very great. Everything seems to work against the Government in its efforts to save Erzroom from the enemy. Ismail Pasha had been ordered to retreat from Bayazid in order to cover that threatened city; but he telegraphs that he cannot move until he can collect transportation, which as usual he does not possess. A brigade has been ordered to march from Batoum to the aid of Muhtar, but no steamers are available to carry the troops to Trebizond, the seaport of Erzroom. Orders go out daily to all the Asiatic provinces directing the governors to collect all able-bodied men and at once to send them to the front. Large promises of reward are held out to those officials who shall render the greatest service in collecting men for the army. A large part of the garrison of Bagdad is under orders to march to Erzroom, and the anxiety of the Sultan as to the energy which his officers will exercise is strongly painted by constant injunctions to telegraph details of the measures taken in execution of the orders. These are appended to every dispatch that goes out from the War Department.*

* As a specimen of the difficulties encountered in securing the execution of such orders, a telegraphic correspondence is appended, which took place on the 18th of October, between the Sultan's chief secretary and Shevket Pasha, commander of the district of Orhanié, on the road between Sophia and Plevna. Shevket had been instructed to send into Plevna three months' supplies for Osman Pasha's forces. The Sultan, through his secretary, inquired if Shevket had plenty of wagons, and if there was any snow on the roads. To this Shevket Pasha replied in a pathetic strain:

Meanwhile troops of Muhtar Pasha's routed army are scattered through the whole country east of Erzroom, each man thinking only of escape to his own home. The ministry have sent orders to all governors to arrest these stragglers wherever found, and to send them under guard to Erzroom. Orders have also been sent to the governor of Erzroom to arm the whole populace in order to delay the advance of the Russians.

"Is it possible to have enough wagons? The difficulty of providing wagons enough for the daily supply of Plevna is beyond description. The food alone of the corps at Plevna requires from three hundred to four hundred wagons every day, and God alone knows the trouble which I have in providing these. As to using pack horses, it is impossible, for it is evident that by the time a beast has gone to Plevna and returned to this place he will have eaten more than all that he can carry, and will have died of starvation besides. The few thousand wagons which went to Plevna in the first and second convoys have been detained to use for the daily supply; but for keeping these wagons I have been complained of to the governor. Three times the governor has ordered me to return these wagons to their owners, but it is impossible to find others in this district. Osman Pasha does not ask for ammunition, but asks for enormous quantities of food. His ordnance supplies have been completed by the ammunition lately sent on under the shadow of the Sultan. When he wishes more I will send it to him. But, my dear sir, this transportation business is very slow. The approach of winter appeals to my conscience, and I must speak of this thing. I am in the greatest fear of the source of all our benefits (the Sultan), and am forced by the peculiar loyalty of my heart to tell the exact truth as to the supplies which can be put into Plevna. If desired, I will state the weight of the food alone required for Plevna, for one day or one year's supply."

The Sultan's secretary having inquired the weight of six months' supply of food, Shevket Pasha replied:

"The Plevna corps, with the troops holding the road, require every day 14,000 pounds of wheat, 17,000 pounds of barley, and 22,500 pounds of forage. His Majesty will see what a number of wagons are required to carry these things alone, leaving out of account butter, rice, cracked wheat, etc. Six months' supply for the army would be 25,000,000 pounds

The situation in Asia is desperate, but the pashas have yet other troubles before them. The Russian army succeeded on the 25th in seizing the Orhanié road, after a severe engagement at Telish, and a slight skirmish at Dubnik. This success isolates Plevna from Sophia, its base of supplies, and Osman Pasha must either cut his way through the Russian lines or surrender when his present stock of supplies is exhausted.*

November 7th.—The Sultan has become a dreamer. He has had a midnight vision of the Prophet, who has made known to him that Allah has no desire for the death of more Russians. Enough have been slain, the sword of Islam may now be sheathed, the residue of Giaours may be pardoned, and peace may again bless the land. Whatever may be its source, the story has served to gauge the popular feeling.† There are many

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of wheat, 31,000,000 pounds of barley, and 42,000,000 pounds of forage. On the 13th of October the army at Plevna had on hand three days' rations. Since that time eight days' rations have been sent in. . . . There is no certain rule as to the time when we can expect the return of the empty wagons. Sometimes there is snow, or rain, or mud. Then the oxen become fagged out, and will not go. If there is no mud and everything is favorable, the teams can go in six days. I keep no wagons here. Whatever wagons I can lay hands upon are at once loaded and sent off. Our last train went yesterday, and contained about one hundred and sixty wagons, carrying about eighty thousand pounds of wheat." —*Ahmed Mithad's "Zubdet ul Hakaik."*

* The official documents published by Ahmed Mithad Effendi show that on the 29th of October orders were sent to Osman Pasha to evacuate Plevna and burn the city, taking the inhabitants with his army to Orhanié. To this Osman replied, after a long interval, that he had asked on the 14th of September to be allowed to evacuate Plevna and had been ordered to remain, and the opportunity for evacuation had passed.

† The dream of the Sultan, told among the people, is doubtless the form in which the ministry thought fit to prepare the popular mind for negotiations for peace. The official documents already often quoted

expressions of satisfaction at the benevolent statements of the Prophet; but this dream, taken with the continued misfortunes of Shevket Pasha, has roused the fierce-eyed war party to something very like action. Placards on the doors of the mosques call on the people to defend the rights of Islam before the three emperors of the North have concerted the measures which will blot out the Moslem power. Mahmoud Damad Pasha is pointed out as being to blame for the crushing defeats of the last few weeks. Poor man! he is doomed to be the scapegoat of a whole file of Pashas, when he has already sins enough of his own to sink him.

These demonstrations are feeble enough, and almost childish, since they are the work of a faction; but the Government has the blue horrors over them, and has stopped printing war news lest fuel for the flames should be found in the tale of new ill-luck. It is now a week since a bulletin from any of the armies has been

show that in the latter part of October, Muhtar Pasha telegraphed to the Sultan that he would do well to seek some safe way of "getting out of this thing." The Sultan then instructed the ministry to make peace at once, but to act with secresy, as the populace would not bear the thought, and to avoid giving Russia occasion for high demands. This latter object was to be secured by inducing a European government to advise Turkey to make peace. The Sultan pointed out to his ministers that in this manner peace could be made without exposing the desperate condition of the empire, and Turkey would be credited with a laudable desire to avoid useless effusion of blood. Mehmed Rushdi Pasha, an old and tried statesman, was ordered to draw up an outline of the terms which could be properly accepted by Turkey, and prepared such a paper. His idea was that Turkey should be guaranteed against any further attempts at coercion, and that Russia should surrender all territory occupied by her armies. As will be seen, events moved too rapidly for the Turks, and this scheme, so charming in its simplicity, miserably failed.

published. The *Army Gazette* fills its columns with the laws passed by the parliament which expired last May, and once more we are prey to a thousand pangs of fear between mail-days. Yesterday, a German merchant received a telegram from his correspondent at Sophia, in these words, "Miss Sophia is not at all well." From this we judge that Gourko's Cossacks are threatening the town. The Turks here are again alarmed; one of them has just asked me if Adrianople was in the hands of the Russians yet, and if there is going to be any shooting here.

Meanwhile the Sultan finds it very inconvenient to have a brother, who, although he has not been strangled, as Sultans' brothers used to be, is a ghost that spoils every feast. Yesterday and day before, a large number of members of a secret society, known to be plotting for a restoration of the deposed Sultan Murad, were arrested, and these, with nearly all the servants and officials of Sultan Murad's household, have been banished "to Arabia," or to the choicest fever holes of Mesopotamia.

Jemil Pasha, the military governor of Adrianople, has spoken frankly on the Bulgarian question. "We must stop hanging people some time," said he; "we cannot soberly contemplate executing four millions of people. And yet we cannot hope for peace until we have destroyed the Bulgarian nationality." Jemil Pasha then described the means by which he proposes to accomplish so happy a riddance. He says the Government should send missionaries into Bulgaria—Greeks, Roman Catholics and Protestants. The people should then be required to take to the faith and nationality of the missionaries of their district, and presto, the Bulgarian question will be solved.

One hundred and fifty Bulgarians arrived here last week, on their way to various places of banishment in Asia Minor. The *Basiret* newspaper, noticing the fact, went on in solemn style to call the attention of the Government to the fact that men will return from banishment in due time, and that it would be far better to end the matter once for all by dividing these "accursed Bulgarian prisoners" among the principal towns of this region, to be hanged, ten or twenty in each place. A Galata paper, the *Courrier d'Orient*, translated the paragraph with the single comment, "Our contemporary has great humanity." Upon this, the *Basiret*, unable to imagine what had offended the delicate sensibilities of the *Courrier*, comes out with the statement that it does not know what it ought to apologize for. It, however, concludes that the *Courrier* is offended at the application of the word "accursed" to Bulgarians. "But," says the *Basiret*, "we are not ashamed of it. In fact, all law recognizes that a man who has been guilty of murder may be called accursed. Therefore, we say again, especially for the benefit of the *Courrier*, may the divine curse rest upon the souls of all Bulgarians." This illustrates the deep hatred which is going to make the reconstruction of European Turkey and its opposing races somewhat like the manufacture of nitro-glycerine, attended with infinite danger to all concerned. These Bulgarian prisoners have not been disposed of as suggested by the *Basiret*. A hundred or more have been sent into exile the past week. Of those who remain, one had been in English employment and had interested the English ambassador in his case. The Porte, however, was inexorable, and declared that he could not be released. Another of these Bulgarians is the

commission merchant from Tatar Bazarjik, who was the unwitting cause of my detention at the police headquarters in this city last summer. He had a part in the Bulgarian insurrection of 1876, but bought a pardon for $500. He professes to have kept his skirts clear ever since, and does not know why he is arrested. Another prisoner in this gang unluckily thought to please the Turks by placing himself under their protection when Suleiman Pasha's army advanced on Eski Zagra in July. He went to camp for that purpose, was instantly locked up, and has been in prison ever since. All these prisoners are in great misery, being in great need of winter clothing. The English Compassionate Fund will do something for them. These persons are doubtless victims of the malice of their Turkish neighbors, and the Government officials have no idea why most of them were arrested. They are retained in prison, and will go into banishment, because all Bulgarians are regarded as dangerous characters, and because no one will take the responsibility of releasing them.

The Armenians of this place are very much elated by the successes of the Armenian generals in the Russian army. Lazaref, who turned Muhtar Pasha's flank and broke up his army in retreat, is an Armenian; so is Melikof, so is Tergoukasof. This last name is spelt with a D by the Armenians. Der means lord, and is the title taken by the clergy; Gukas is the Armenian for Luke, the L always changing into G in the transfer of a name from Greek to Armenian. The termination off is added to Russianize the word, and the whole name of General Dergukasoff means simply "son of the priest Luke." He appears to be another exception to the rule that sons of the clergy turn out badly.

The Russian authorities at Tulcha, in the Dobruja, have ordered the priests in the churches to substitute in their prayers the name of the Greek Patriarch for that of the Bulgarian Exarch, as head of the church. This instantly caused a protest from the Bulgarians of Tulcha, for the Greek Patriarch is regarded by every true Bulgarian as worse than any Turkish Pasha. The protest was no sooner presented than the signers, wealthy merchants and men of the highest social position, were arrested. At last accounts they were still in prison, wishing that the dear Russians would only be as liberal in such matters as the Turks.

Saturday the oldest inhabitants of the city were brought to naught by the vain effort to recall another such rain as descended upon us. The waters from the hills could not run off in the sewers, and poured down the slopes into the lower parts of the city. The streets were flooded from curb to curb, and in many places the sidewalks also were under water. I was obliged to wade in a roaring torrent more than knee-deep, in one of the great thoroughfares. Lines were stretched along the streets to enable people to keep their feet. Carriages could not stem the tide, for great blocks of stone came roaring down the hills and smashed their wheels. Two men were carried away and drowned in the street. Many small houses were also swept away. There is, however, this compensation, that the street dogs were carried off too. The storm lasted for five or six hours, and in the evening the gas-works suddenly went down, and Pera and Galata were left in darkness. Houses here commonly use candles or petroleum, but the streets and the shops are lighted with gas, and in the Sultan's palace there is nothing but gas. Hence the sudden

destruction of the gasometer produced the wildest panic within the sacred precincts of the palace. A plot, an insurrection, a Russian attack, might all have produced less fear than did this wild riot of the waters. Picture the scene. Five hundred women screaming from sheer ignorance of what was to take place; five hundred men, eunuchs, servants, and staff officers of every degree, each making a different suggestion as to the cause of the sudden darkness; and in the midst of all this uproar, the poor majesty of the Sultan could not command a light, that he might know what stealthy danger threatened. Outside was the roar of waters dashing against the doors of the palace, the shouts of sailors, whose ships were dragging their anchors, the hiss of escaping steam, and nearer the rapid shouts of command, as the guard turned out to resist whatever might come. After half an hour or more lights were obtained, and men and women began to crawl out from under beds and from the darkest depths of dark cupboards. But the most uneasy head in this city was in that great palace that night.

Every night placards are posted by discontented Turks upon the doors of the mosques, and the Government is greatly annoyed because it cannot detect the authors of these seditious documents. The placards are commonly aimed at Mahmoud Damad Pasha, but they often contain hints of the propriety of changes in yet higher quarters. So far the discontent survives every attempt to crush it. To-day the ministry has issued a ponderous proclamation, ascribing the placards to Russian intrigues, but threatening with death any who are caught in the act of posting them.

Mahmoud Damad is more cordially hated than ever.

For thirty-six hours last week the city breathed freely. Rumor said that Mahmoud had been poisoned, or at least had fallen victim to apoplexy. I was informed by an officer in one of the departments that Mahmoud Damad was not dead, but was merely stricken with paralysis. However, all these stories were false. Bright and early the next morning the rotund form of the hated minister reappeared upon the streets. The whole series of rumors grew out of the fact that Mahmoud was absent from an important ministerial council one day, having had more important business to attend to at home in the festivities attending the circumcision of his son.

The price of bread in the city has been steadily rising, and now the Government has directed the bakers to diminish the size of their loaves by one eighth, in order to avoid an increase in the price which might irritate the populace. There is plenty of wheat in the country, but it is difficult to bring it to the seaboard. At Conia, in Asia Minor (Iconium), bread which sells here at six cents per pound is worth only about a cent a pound. But Conia is two hundred miles from any seaport, and wheat cannot be carried that distance on horseback. In consequence of the scarcity here, the Government has removed the customs duty on wheat imported from abroad.

An English gentleman just in from the Plevna road says he counted two hundred and sixty dead bodies of Bulgarians lying by the roadside in a distance of sixty miles. The statement made to him was that these men were peasants from distant parts of the country, whose teams had been pressed into the service for army transportation. They had safely made the journey to

Plevna, and, after being discharged, while straggling along the road on the homeward journey, they had been shot, one at a time, by Turkish refugees, who wished to use the teams in their flight before the Russian advance. The horrors of this war are absolutely limitless. Three hundred and sixty Jewish refugees have arrived here, via Austria and Roumania, from Bulgaria. They have been subjected to every insult and outrage by the Bulgarian Christians, and have escaped to the Turks for safety. The Bulgarians justify their savagery toward the Jews by charging them with acting as spies, and the Jews defend their conduct by charging previous outrages on the Bulgarians. It is a series of criminations and recriminations that have neither beginning nor end.

The Government has promised a new levy of 250,000 troops. It has undoubtedly decreed this levy in true Turkish form, as if the word would create the men. But the new levies come in slowly. Several bands of the recruits have been marched through our streets chained, some even with iron collars, and desertions are common even in the city. The troops from Syria, which were to have come here for service in European Turkey, have been ordered to Erzroom, to meet more pressing needs in that region. This change in the plan occurred ten days ago, and it was then intended to send the garrison of Constantinople toward Plevna, leaving this city in charge of the new Civic Guard. But now the newspaper correspondents announce that 70,000 Russians are preparing to cross the Balkans, and the War Commission is afraid to deprive the city of regular troops. The wretched anxieties of the pashas are increased every day, and no men ever prayed more

devoutly for rain, snow, mud, anything to block the artillery wheels of the Russian armies. The anxieties of the pashas are not only as to men, but as to means. You see daily men going from house to house and shop to shop, with memorandum and pencil in hand, asking aid for the army. "Must I give?" asks the shopkeeper, "Oh, no; it is a voluntary contribution." "Then I have nothing to spare." "All right; but you should know that we publish the names of all who do not give." This draws the subscription, and the next man takes his turn.

A party of volunteers from Albania has distinguished itself by robbing all the villages through which it passed in going to the camps on the Greek frontier. The thing became so abominable that even Turks could not stomach it. Troops were sent out to arrest the volunteers, who resisted, and were only captured after a stubborn fight, in which their captain and eleven men were killed. The rest were chained in pairs and escorted to Monastir, where they now lie in prison.

Some of the Kourdish chiefs from the army at Erzroom have been brought here to see the Sultan. They are picked men. I saw one on the Galata bridge a day or two ago. The common herd of men stood barely as high as his broad shoulders, so that he towered above the crowd like Saul. He was dressed in sky-blue broadcloth, and on his feet were huge morocco boots of the most brilliant crimson color; his head was wound with a bright-colored silk turban; by his side was a curved sword, sheathed in solid silver, and on his shoulders was a white scarf of silk gauze, exquisitely embroidered. The man's face was haughty, but not bad or at all repulsive. He was commander of a band of

scouts which have done good service in waylaying Russian convoys and couriers.

November 30th.—Tardy news has come of a fresh disaster to Muhtar Pasha's army. The Turks had taken up a strong position on the ridge of Devé Boyoun, which commands the Kars road, and is situated some eight miles from Erzroom. Here they were attacked and utterly routed, on the 4th inst., by the combined corps of Generals Heiman and Tergoukasof, numbering twenty-five thousand men. Muhtar Pasha's report of his situation after the battle tells more graphically than any description written at this distance can do, how completely he has been defeated. He says: "The forces under my orders are now reduced to about four thousand men. The remainder of my army is dispersed through the city, hiding in holes in the streets, and in out-of-the-way corners of Hans. I am trying to collect these men together again before the enemy reaches the city. If I succeed in assembling them, I shall have in hand a total force of about sixteen thousand men. This force is utterly insufficient to hold a fortress as large as Erzroom, and I would like, if possible, to retreat to Erzingan or Baiburt. But retreat is impossible, since if the army were to be taken out of this city, nothing would prevent the men from dispersing to their homes. I have just received a summons to surrender the city, which of course I have refused."

The pluck of Muhtar Pasha under such desperate circumstances cannot but excite admiration, and this admiration is increased by the fact that, five days later, Muhtar repulsed the Russian attack upon Erzroom, inflicting considerable loss upon the enemy.

One would suppose, after such a reverse as the

battle of Devé Boyoun, that the Turks could not hope to stand at Erzroom; but the failure of the Russian attack on the 9th demonstrated the reverse. The forts of Erzroom dominate the plain between Devé Boyoun and the city; but the so-called plain is rough, and affords plenty of shelter for advancing lines until within rifle range of the forts. The Russian columns reached the glacis of the Azizié fort without losing a man, and, thanks to the darkness, they took the fort with slight loss, although the whole line of Turkish works were belching out into the night aimless missiles for general results. The pyrotechnic display was very fine, and the Russians enjoyed it quite as much as the panic-stricken inhabitants on the house-tops of the city. It was only after daybreak that the Russians began to lose men. Their main losses were in the retreat, and especially in the massacre of the troops which had taken the Azizié fort and were left there unsupported.

But the situation in Asia is more desperate than ever, for the great fortress of Kars, the bulwark of Armenia, was taken on the 18th, and the Turks at Erzroom will soon have to meet the attack of the whole Russian army. The fortifications of Erzroom are unfitted for such a test. They were built long ago, and do not meet the requirements of modern warfare.. Moreover, these fortifications require for their defense an army of at least forty thousand men. The Government has sent peremptory orders to all the neighboring provinces to have men sent at all hazards to Muhtar Pasha. Some "volunteers" have been collected under these orders, and have been sent *handcuffed* to Muhtar. But Muhtar Pasha sent word ten days ago, that, so far, he had received only eight hundred of these volunteers,

and that half of them were so old and infirm as to require nursing to keep them alive. He is naturally much depressed, and says that he saw the hopelessness of resistance after his defeat in October, and has since sought death upon the battle-field, "in order that his eyes might not see the inevitable end." Troops were ordered to march from Bagdad to Erzroom; but the advance of this corps had only reached Bitlis on the 20th of this month, and will require at least twenty days' time to reach Erzroom from that point. The populace of Erzroom has been ordered into the forts to aid in the defense; but Muhtar Pasha says that while there are many who are willing to sacrifice life for their religion and their country, there are also many who are fearful, and wish to escape from the city, and that there are also among his forces many Kourds, who know neither religion nor country, and cause him great anxiety.

In view of these circumstances the Sultan has sent a proclamation to the people of Erzroom calling upon them to defend the city, and reminding them that if they flee from the place, and allow the Russians once to take the city, they will find no place in all Asia Minor where they can take refuge from the Cossacks. He has also privately instructed Muhtar Pasha to shoot as many Kourds as he may deem necessary in order to terrify the rest into good behavior.

Orders have been sent to the provincial governors to send to Erzroom men who are good for something "in order to defend the religion threatened with destruction by the Russian victories." Each order terminates with the phrase, "You are allowed five days in which to certify that this order has been executed." In this city

the newspapers have been ordered to refrain from publishing discouraging news, and all papers that disobey are to be suppressed. In order to encourage the troops of the garrison, the Sultan reviewed them at the War Department a week or two ago, and remained there through the evening to dine with the officers of the army. On this occasion the great watch tower, two hundred feet high, which stands on the parade ground at the War Department, was crusted all over with myriads of little lamps, and blazed against the black sky like a pillar of fire. The next day the Sultan went to his public prayers at the mosque of Bayazid, near the War Department, and after the service he reviewed the new Civic Guard, and presented the corps with a standard. This flag is of satin with the Sultan's cipher and sundry verses from the Koran embroidered in heavy gold letters upon it. It is intended to serve as a rallying point to the citizen soldiery, much as the holy flag would do if the Government dared to bring it out. But no such measures will relieve the people from the sense of desperation aroused among them by the alarming condition of affairs at Erzroom.

European amateur strategists have seriously advised the Turks to abandon Erzroom, and to recall Muhtar Pasha with his troops to Europe, where the struggle is much more important than that in Asia. The Turks, however, regard the Asiatic campaign as of vital importance. Asiatic Turkey is the base of operations, the great storehouse of men and munitions. The money which supports the American factories of small arms and ammunition comes from the villages of Asia Minor. To Asiatic Turkey the Sultan will flee when shall arrive the unhappy day, long foretold, of final extinction of

Turkish power in Europe. Hence the great stress laid by Turks upon reinforcing Erzroom.

The situation of the armies in European Turkey is hardly more reassuring than that of Muhtar Pasha's force. The Government has placed Mehmet Ali Pasha in command of a force hastily assembled to cover Sophia, and has ordered both Mehmet Ali and Suleiman to attack with all their might in order to relieve the beleagured garrison at Plevna. But Suleiman replies that he cannot attack unless Mehmet Ali supports him, and Mehmet Ali says that of his thirty battalions, nineteen are home guards who will run away at the first sound of musketry. Meanwhile there is no news from Plevna itself. Couriers have been sent out again and again, but have never once returned. Enormous rewards are offered to any one who will contrive to pierce the Russian lines and communicate with Osman Pasha.

Pending the arrival of official news this long-suffering city of Constantinople has been again hoaxed. A Circassian brought the story to Orhanié that Osman Pasha had made his way out of Plevna on the north. As I heard the story from the English legation, I supposed it to be true. But the Turks now denounce the Circassian as a liar, and we are again reduced to hearing on alternate days that Plevna and Erzroom are in Russian hands. The multitude of lies which have come to us in the garb of truth is marvelous, and it is most difficult to ascertain the real truth concerning events.

Riza Pasha, senator of the empire, died last week. He was one of the small surviving circle of old-time Turks. The richest of the pashas, his wealth was nearly all the result of peculation. During the

Crimean war he drew the pay and emoluments of an army corps which did not exist. Ten millions of dollars were his profits on his little transactions in the years 1854–56, for he was a greater than Tweed. Riza Pasha was born during the reign of Mustapha IV. and has been an intimate friend and adviser to five successive Sultans. He was chamberlain of the palace, when Sultan Mahmoud II. destroyed the Janissaries, and after Mahmoud's death, he succeeded the Sultan in the affections of the favorite Sultana, mother to Sultan Abd ul Mejid and grandmother of the present Sultan. The protection of the Sultan's mother was a power which no combination could break, although Riza Pasha was repeatedly proved guilty of malfeasance in office. Even Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the great English ambassador, found Riza Pasha a foe whom he could hardly circumvent. The changes which Riza Pasha saw in Turkey may be illustrated by the fact that when he entered public life a foreigner could not enter the streets of Stamboul without a guard, while within six years he has had the chagrin of seeing a party of Americans overcome his violent resistance, and build a Bible house directly opposite his palace in Stamboul, and within fifty feet of the windows where the ladies of his harem flatten their pretty noses on the glass watching the passers-by in the street. When Riza Pasha entered public life it was under a Sultan who had the privilege of killing fourteen of his subjects every day without trial, and who exercised that right whenever the whim took him to confer the celestial blessing of martyrdom on officials whose terrestrial record did not please him. Riza Pasha remarked, only a few days ago, that there is no hope of stopping the present war until at least

70,000 Giaours have been killed. He was rampant for war, and yet it is doubtful whether he ever gave $100 for war purposes. The people called him a Russian and a niggard, and he died a wealthy nobody, regretted by few.

We have had a new illustration of Turkish methods in the matter of relentless pursuits of suspected Bulgarians. One of these, Stoyan Sirdarof, is in the employment of the Bulgarian relief commission, instituted here last year. Sir Henry Elliot was president, and our own minister, Mr. Maynard, is vice-president of this commission, which numbers among its members, also, the English and American consuls, and other eminently respectable men. Stoyan Sirdarof was placed in charge of the cattle loaned by the commission to the Bulgarian peasants of the Philippopolis district, and he used to collect the monthly hire of fifty cents a head, which was the token of ownership in the cattle. He was regarded with suspicion by the Turks and arrested. The English ambassador promised everything, and afterward said that the Turks promised the man should not be hanged or banished. But this week Stoyan Sirdarof, who has been in prison for sixty days, but has never been tried, or even questioned by the Turks, was sent into exile in irons.

This was done notwithstanding that the Porte has just issued a proclamation praising the Bulgarians for remaining loyal in large majority, and calling upon the minority who have joined the Russian armies to return to safety under the shadow of the Sultan, and proclaiming universal amnesty to all who have sinned and repent. The morning after this proclamation of amnesty forty-five Bulgarians were taken away from here in chains to

distant places of banishment. Many, and perhaps all of these men had never been tried. In fact one batch of them had been frankly told by the judge advocate of the Philippopolis district that Government had no proof against them, but was obliged to arrest them as a preventive measure.

December 7th.—The Christians of Turkey have enough causes of complaint, beyond peradventure of doubt; but they have few means of judging what evils are caused by the direct agency of their Turkish rulers, and what are due to their own ignorance—a most potent factor, by the way, in all the problems of the East. Still, one naturally belabors the broad-backed Turk for every evil of which the Turkish Christians complain, and so it falls out that these Christians are finding a pleasant incense in foreign sympathy, and are learning to love the making of complaints as a means of evoking it. This is especially true of the Christians of Constantinople, who know no sorrow and feel no fear—at least in comparison with the burden of both sorrow and fear which is borne without a murmur by their co-religionists of the interior. The Christian at Constantinople has not paid taxes for four hundred years, is sleek and well fed, can follow in everything his own tastes, has perfect liberty of action so long as he violates none of the ordinary rules of public morality, and, unless he is an office-holder, he has under ordinary circumstances no relations whatever with the Turkish authorities, excepting through his bishops. Yet there is not a class in the world, outside of French Communism, which has as many grievances as the Christians of Constantinople. The custom of complaining has grown up gradually, but it is now so settled a disease that a government to sat-

isfy the Christians of Constantinople must work on communistic principles, and must assign to every man a regular income, or at least a house and a mule. These people are looking to others for everything, and this fault has well nigh deprived them of individual enterprise and push.

The attitude of the Armenians of Constantinople toward the new law of the Civic Guard is an example of this emasculation. If ever the Christians of this country are to be in a position to enforce their rights, it will be when they have the power to demand, and the will to endure hardship for them. One would suppose that the Christian young men would spring at the chance of learning tactics and the management of arms; of learning to act together, and of becoming organized. The chance is offered by the fancy corps of Civic Guards, in which they may enlist. They are not required to go into barracks, or leave their homes, and they know very well that the Turks will never wish to risk the result of a battle upon Christian guns, so that it is almost certain that they will never be called to do other than guard duty for the Turks in this war. Yet the Armenian young men of this city have suffered a white panic of fear for the last week. They have lost sleep, avoided good dinners, given up their lecture courses or their interest in the opera. They have almost cried over it. Their mothers and sisters have cried their eyes out, and the American missionaries have been overwhelmed with applications for the United States homestead laws from people who state that they are ready to adopt the "American religion" if so be they can get away from this terrible danger of being taught to bear arms. They cry out against the Government and sigh for the days

of which their fathers tell them, in which foreign ambassadors used to allow passports and foreign protection to issue from the office of their legation for a money consideration.

The question is not by any means settled yet, for the Government cannot hope, without the consent of the Christian Patriarchs, to enforce a law requiring military service of Christians. The law seems, however, so near to receiving the approval of these dignitaries that the whole mass of the Christians are longing for sympathy from Europe in their wretchedness. I astonished a young Armenian to-day by telling him that he would hold his head full two inches higher if he could once feel the weight of a gun on his shoulder. "Ah, but we are the slaves of the Turks," is the common reply; "for four hundred years we have been their slaves, and have obediently paid them tribute for leaving our heads on our shoulders. Why can they not let us be in peace as before? They say to us that now we are all brothers and children of one country. We wish none of this brotherhood. Let us be as we are and pay our tribute." The Jews of this city have also been in a sad perplexity over the same question, but they have found a way of escape. They have expressed their readiness to serve in the army, provided married men shall be exempt. The Turks agreed to this, and now it turns out that every Jew is necessarily married before he is twenty years old. The Jews smile over the wrath of the Turks at this sharp practice.

The Turkish Government has always declared that the great obstacle to giving the Christians full equality was their persistent refusal to be soldiers. This has never, since 1828, been really put to the test. The offer

of an apprenticeship in military life is genuine enough now, and the Turks themselves express an undisguised contempt for the panic of fear which has been called forth by the offer.

Of course there is a different side to the question. As one man put it, the Turks are now offering the Christians "the wrong end of the cucumber." If they had been eating the sweet part in past years, now that the bitter end comes, they could, somehow, make out to swallow it. But now Christians are asked to take the bitter end first—to begin military life in war-time, and they necessarily shrink from its perils.

A Turkish gentleman, who has been a Governor in various places, to-day gave me his views of the relations of the Christians to the Government. The Christians of Asia Minor, and especially the Armenians, are loyal subjects of the Sultan, and should be drafted into the army. Even the Bulgarians would be loyal also, were it not that for twenty years the Government has let Russian spies carry on schools among them, instead of providing schools itself. The Bulgarians are as easily led as a donkey (in Turkey this is not an irony) and mean well. If Government twenty years ago had made education compulsory, and had established its own schools, there would have been no trouble now. Look at the Imperial Academy of Medicine: Greeks, Bulgarians, Armenians, Moslems, Jews—all the different nationalities—are educated together, and when they graduate they are all commissioned in the army, and nobody ever heard of one of them turning traitor. Educated together, the young people respect and trust each other, and love their Government. These statements are somewhat rose-colored so far as the question

of the devotion of Christian officials to the Government is concerned. For the Porte cannot even secure the devotion of those of its subjects who profess the State religion, let alone the question of the dependence which it can place upon Christian loyalty. Although the crisis of the existence of Moslem government has arrived, Asia Minor swarms with deserters from the army, who often rob travelers, but who quite as often are wretched beggars pleading for bread. Although Muhtar Pasha's army is in absolute danger of starvation for lack of means of transport, the people hide their teams and cripple the supply department. In the one district which has Samsoun, on the Black Sea, for its port, as many as a thousand camels are now in hiding—as well as their ungainly necks and long legs can be hidden—in order that they may not be used to carry stores to Erzroom. The owners of these camels are not disloyal, they are merely unwilling to take the risks of the journey to the neighborhood of the enemy.

The Turks of the city are trying to revive their drooping spirits by a victory won by Suleiman Pasha, two days ago. He has routed a Russian force at Elena, in the Balkans, and has captured eleven cannon and quite a number of prisoners. This victory may or may not be of importance. It is the first step toward an attack upon Tirnova, with the intention of taking Shipka pass in the rear, and so opening the way for direct attack upon the army which hems in Osman Pasha at Plevna. But this small success can have little weight in view of the fact that Servia is preparing to declare war once more against Turkey. The forces at the disposition of the Turks for protecting the line of the Balkans are very small. If the Servian army joins

hands with the Russians, it will be able to outflank this force. The whole Turkish army at present in position on the Servian frontier numbers barely ten thousand men, and no reserves exist for the support of this force. The situation of the Turks is desperate, and the people every day better appreciate the fact.

December 14th.—Plevna has fallen! During five months the Turkish forces under Osman Pasha have held back the whole Russian army; but now the bulwark is gone, and the end of the war approaches. Osman Pasha had but ten days' rations a month ago. His troops must have suffered everything in the interval, and nothing remained but for him to try to break through the line of fire which bound him to his works. There was a terrible battle; and then the stubborn old Turk, wounded and helpless, yielded to the inevitable. The whole Russian army will now be pouring down upon the Balkans, and there is no adequate force to resist the attack.

The loss of Osman Pasha's army is due to two causes, both outside of the control of its commander. In the first place, the war commission in this city decided, against the judgment of Osman, to try to hold Plevna; and, in the second place, the Government did nothing toward furnishing the means for an effectual defense of Plevna, beyond issuing orders that it be supplied with men and with provisions. This order issued, nothing more was done, whereas the ministry might just as well have ordered provisions and men to grow up out of the soil of Plevna itself. The provincial authorities sent in quantities of farm wagons, in response to these orders, but the wagons are small, and have no tires on the wheels, and can barely carry five hundred

pounds apie[illegible] were not enough such wagons in all European [illegible]y Plevna for a siege, in the three weeks that were available for the purpose. The failure of the transportation system of the army was the principal cause of the failure of the plan of the war commission.

With characteristic duplicity the ministers circulated on the 10th a report in this city that the Russians had been terribly defeated before Plevna. When the mails from Europe came in we learned that it was on the 10th that Plevna fell. The Government has made no allusion to the subject of this disaster in any of its bulletins. But it yesterday asked the powers of Europe to mediate, in order to stop the effusion of blood, and re-establish peace. This is still a secret in the city, but the bureau of the press has officially warned the people not to speak of Russia as the Bear of the North, on the ground that such language is disrespectful, and contrary to the rules of courtesy in vogue among civilized nations. The shrewd among the people, however, declare that this is a sure sign that peace is nearly concluded. This guess is based on analogy with the case when a Grand Vezir is in disgrace, and all the newspapers are hurling epithets at him. The first indication that he is about to become Vezir once more is the order to the press to cease abusing him. The despair and despondency of the times, however, are not great enough yet to make one hopeful of peace. The Turks desire it, but are not willing to pay for the fact that the Russians do not need peace as much as themselves. The Russian terms will be a bitter pill to swallow, but the Turks have not learned that the price of peace rises with delays in making terms.

To add a last straw to the weigh[illegible]ry that burdens the pashas, Ser[illegible]ed war against Turkey. There is absolutely no v[illegible]d excuse for this proceeding, since the Turks have been extremely cautious to avoid causes of offense. The declaration of war is moreover inexcusable, since the Sultan made peace with Servia last March, upon conditions which spared the principality all humiliation, and ignored the rebellion, in which the Servian troops were utterly routed, and which left the country at the mercy of the Turks. The despicable character of the Servian leaders is further shown by the fact that they have been ready for war during a month past, but have remained trembling on the verge of the declaration, until they have become assured, beyond all question, that the Russian army has succeeded in its labors before Plevna. The Turks are very naturally furious beyond words. But they are also impotent.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GREAT COLLAPSE.

December 21*st.*—So long as Plevna held out, even the most desponding of the people had lingering hopes that in some way the tide of war might be turned back. Since the surrender of the place, however, every spark of hope has died out. I never saw such despair and such helplessness as that which now exhibits itself among the mass of the people. The people curse their rulers and their generals, and are ready to sink into lethargy in the belief that in the events of the last three months they may see a foreshadowing of what is fatal for the future. They have learned to regard Osman Pasha as the one hero of the whole nation, and every household is bereaved in his loss, as if it were a death. They feel such a regard for Osman Pasha that they impute to the Czar a similar admiration, and recount to each other stories of the generosity shown to Osman by him. An old Turk gravely told me of the whole scene of the surrender. Perhaps you would like to hear it: Osman Pasha was on a litter, having been commanding the army all day with a bullet in his leg. The Czar kissed him on the forehead, and said to him, "You have done nobly." At the same time he took from his own breast the grand cross of St. George and pinned it upon that of his valiant enemy, saying: "Go back to your country in safety. I cannot keep in prison a man like

you."[1] This story is thoroughly be[illegible]able to [illegible] Turks, whom we would exp[illegible]ion to be intelligent. It shows how little even t[illegible] best informed of those educated here know of the great outside world, over whose coldness and cruelty they weep, as does a boy of eighteen on his first absence from home. None of these people have trustworthy sources of information, nor do they know what sources are untrustworthy. It will hardly be believed that none of the official newspapers have noticed the fall of Plevna at all. The disaster is in all the other papers of the city, of course, but the only official hint that Plevna has fallen is the bulletin issued by the war office to deny the death of Osman Pasha. Those who rely on the Army Gazette for military news, are still daily expecting to see the announcement that the place holds out. Until then they feast their eyes on the reports of the number killed in every Circassian outpost fight, and say, after reading each record of Russians left dead, "May God increase the number of them."

Osman Pasha's family is here, and consists of one wife and two sons. He has been married fourteen years, and in all that time has lived at home only about three months. His military service has been on the frontier of Persia, and among the wild Arabs of Yemen. He has no property, and his family has always lived in a very pillar-to-post fashion, changing their house whenever the landlord raised the rent. At the beginning of the present war, Muhtar Pasha offered to lend Osman £2,000 to buy a house, so that at least he might feel that his family were comfortable, but Osman Pasha declined to be in debt. The Sultan has lately sent many presents to Osman's family; and since the fall of Plevna

he has [illegible] eldest son, a boy of eight years, to be entered on the [illegible] cavalry regiments, with the rank of sergeant, and has directed him to report to the palace every day for duty. The fortune of that boy is made. He will probably be a colonel at sixteen.

The Turkish forces are now hard pressed to hold Sophia and the line of the Balkans. The Russian army is pushing on toward Sophia, and the Turks have given up Orhanié, falling back to Kamarli, on the crest of the mountain range which divides the plain of Sophia from Bulgaria of the Danube. Suleiman Pasha's brilliant dash at Elena, on the Tirnova road, was of no avail. He has now been ordered to evacuate the quadrilateral, leaving garrisons in the fortresses, and moving his army to the defense of the Balkans.

The arrival in this city of Suleiman Pasha and a part of his army, day before yesterday, was our first intimation of the new disposition of troops. Suleiman called on the Sultan, and received a jeweled telescope as a token of his sovereign's affection. Some wag irreverently remarks that this present is intended to symbolize the Sultan's anxiety to have his favored general avoid close quarters with the enemy. Suleiman's army has been passing through the city for two days, and the streets are once more full of soldiers. The longest way around is the quickest for them, and the first brigade that came in was only about forty-eight hours in going from the quadrilateral at Varna to Philippopolis. The Government sent the most stringent orders to all the newspapers yesterday to make no allusion to the passage of these troops.

In consequence of all this movement, the streets just now present a peculiarly Babel-like aspect. There are

negro soldiers, and Arab soldiers [illegible] than soldiers—men speaking [illegible] in any brigade. On the streets these fellows, worn down by hardships in the field, merrily tramp by with the long, swinging step which shows that they know how to march. Through seas of mud are wearily plodding long files of refugees, haggard and hopeless; women with children on their backs and others hanging at their skirts, men overloaded with mighty rolls of bedding and household ware from the abandoned homesteads. People stop to look at the soldiers and the fugitives, and if your eye rests a moment on the crowd of spectators you cannot fail to detect among them representatives of a dozen nations. Serenely sailing by both soldiers and refugees, come foreign ladies dressed in the latest of the new shades of green, cut in the latest Paris style, but held remote from mud in true Pera fashion; and, dashing on horseback through the throng, comes a brilliant Circassian aid-de-camp, holding on high a huge envelope in lieu of apology for having bespattered with mud every one on the street. All the various classes mingle on the streets to form the Babel, but each race is distinct, and has its distinct degree of uncivilization and its own views of its rights and duties. Each race seems as if it would be separate from every other to the end of time.

January 12th, 1878.—The Turkish Government received, late in December, the assent of the English Government to the request for its mediation. But Russia has not been willing to allow the mediation of England, and on the 8th inst. the final reply of Prince Gorchakof was communicated to the Porte. This reply states that Russia has ever been anxious for peace, and

that n[illegible] desires to treat with Russia he must send to th[illegible] Russian forces in order to learn the [illegible]nditions upon which an armistice will be granted. The ministry at once sent orders to the army to cease active operations, and directed the chief commanders to arrange for an armistice. But the Russian generals have refused to grant the armistice until duly appointed delegates have been sent to confer with the Grand Duke Nicholas.

Meanwhile the Turkish forces have been driven from the Balkans and are in full retreat. On the 31st of December, the bulk of Suleiman Pasha's command was strongly fortified upon the heights of Kamarli over the plain of Sophia, the city of Sophia being the base of supplies for the whole left wing of the army. Suleiman Pasha was at Tatar Bazarjik arranging for the deployment of the troops which were arriving from the quadrilateral. Suddenly Russians appeared upon the plain of Sophia cutting off communication between Suleiman and his lieutenant, Shakir Pasha, who commanded the corps entrenched at Kamarli. Suleiman Pasha vainly tried to learn what was happening, and asked for leave to abandon Sophia. The war commission in this city replied that Sophia, if once abandoned, would be forever lost to Turkey, and must therefore be held at all hazards.

But, meanwhile, General Gourko had passed the mountain on the left flank of Kamarli, wrestling with the snow drifts and losing about a thousand men in the tedious labor of dragging his cannon by hand over those icy steeps. Then, without giving his tired troops a moment's rest, he struck out for Tashkesen, a narrow defile which was the sole way of escape for the

army of Kamarli. Luckily for [illegible] Tashkesen was held by the English [illegible] Baker. Baker Pasha, with his single brigade, withstood the fierce onslaught of the Russians, until the main Turkish column could extricate itself from its fortifications, and escape through the pass.

The day after the battle of Tashkesen, Gourko struck Shakir Pasha's column again, and drove the whole force pell-mell through roadless gorges to Petrichevo on the lower slopes of the Balkans.

All this took place while Suleiman Pasha was still trying to communicate with Shakir Pasha, and it was unknown to him until it was ended. Here, in Constantinople, we knew nothing of what was transpiring, and have only learned these details by a careful collating of diverse authorities. The ministry has been sending frantic messages to Suleiman to do something in aid of Shakir Pasha, but Suleiman has been hampered by the order to hold Sophia, and bewildered by the rapidity of the Russian attack. He abandoned Sophia on the 4th, and made his dispositions to hold a new line in the passes of the mountains which separate the plain of Sophia from the valley of the Maritza river. But with Sophia, Suleiman abandoned the immense supply depots for his army. He was, therefore, harassed with the cares of providing new stores, while overwhelmed with the difficulties of concentrating a sufficient force to man his new line. He was laboring at this new line of defense when, on the 9th, the Russian army repeated near the Shipka pass the manœuvre which had served Gourko so well at Kamarli. The Russians outflanked the Turkish position at Shipka, and succeeded in capturing the entire

corps of [illegible] men which was occupied with the blockade of that important defile. This success places the Russians in command of an easy road to Philippopolis, destroys the value of Suleiman Pasha's labors for new lines of defense, and gives the enemy the opportunity to prevent Suleiman, unless warned in time, from retreating to Adrianople. No dispatches from Suleiman have been published since the fall of Shipka, and the greatest uncertainty exists as to his fate. One thing alone is certain. The whole Turkish defense of the Balkans is broken up, and a general retreat on Adrianople is the only measure possible for the Turkish army.

In this city alarm is at its height. Every hour new rumors of Russian successes overwhelm the panic-stricken groups in the streets and the coffee shops. The decision of the ministry to ask for an armistice served for a time to quiet alarm; but the persistent advance of the Russian columns shows that the pashas have miscalculated the willingness of the Grand Duke Nicholas to grant the much-desired boon. Namik Pasha and Server Pasha, two of the most astute diplomatists of the Porte, have been ordered to go to Kizanlik, to meet the Grand Duke and to secure, at some price, a halt of the advancing columns. All thought of quibbling about terms is now lost in the terrible panic which has followed the collapse of the Turkish defense.

Meanwhile, the police have been taken from our streets and sent, with every available soldier, to man the works on the Chekmejé hills. The only crumb of comfort left to the Turks, in their dire distress, is the fact that in Asia the snows have come to their aid, by delay-

ing General Melikof in his ma[illegible]able to us. Erzroom therefore holds out, but it is completely invested and is in great danger. At such a time it is almost ludicrous to find the Turkish parliament adding its voice to the anxieties which burden the lives of the ministers. Parliament assembled two weeks ago. There was no need to seek, as last fall, for an opposition party in the assembly. The whole body is an opposition, and insists on acting as a court of inquiry. It has demanded explanations from the ministers in regard to all mistakes made in every department of government from the beginning of the war until now. The ministers have been summoned again and again to the pillory, and have learned to dread the pitiless questioning as they never dreaded anything else. The minister of marine flatly refused to appear for cross-examination. Mahmoud Damad Pasha, savagely criticised by the assembly, offered his resignation in a passion of outraged dignity. The Sultan refused to accept the resignation, and a rupture of some kind seemed imminent. Then several of the ministers together went to the assembly, and in a long secret session pointed out the inconvenience of its criticisms at a time when the undivided attention of the pashas is demanded by weighty matters abroad. The assembly since then has been more quiet, but is evidently laboring under repression of spirit.

January 23d.—The anxieties of the ministers are pitiable. The attitude of the common people; the threat of Servia and Roumania to continue the war in spite of a Russian armistice; the steady onward march of the Russians, influenced by the commencement of negotiations no more than they were influenced by the frightful difficulties of a winter campaign; and above

all the total [illegible] of Suleiman Pasha with his whole army, have united to give the unhappy statesmen of the Sublime Porte a long series of miserable days and sleepless nights. The life of the ministry during the last ten days has been an illustration, if ever there was one, of life on the ragged edge of despair. The pashas now have some slight relief from mental strain in the fact that the peace commissioners have at last succeeded in persuading the Grand Duke to open negotiations. But the attitude of the Russians in regard to the armistice leaves to the Turks much cause for anxiety.

The Russians had seemed so winning in their way of expressing willingness to conclude an armistice, when Lord Derby was asking about the matter, that the subsequent difficulty experienced by the Turks in finding anybody with whom to make the truce paralyzed the faculties of the pashas. Right upon the announcement of the Turks that they would suspend hostilities came the capture of Shipka and the general rush on Adrianople, so that before the ministry here could get breath enough to scream "*Aman!*" which is the Turks' mode of asking quarter, the whole question of Turkish supremacy in Europe was in the hands of the Czar. The Turks think that there was a little sharp practice on the part of Russia just at this time, and I doubt not that some of the hardness of hearing which Russia exhibited in the week ending January 15th was put on. The ministers seriously considered two courses: one of them was the long threatened policy of a general appeal to Islam. It was long debated whether the country would not be a gainer by at once taking to Broosa the mantle of the prophet, his sandal, and the hair of his beard, as

a token to all the Moslem [illegible] ble to the seat of the Caliphate was imminently in danger. This would have involved the subsequent unfurling of the sacred standard and the entry of the Sultan into the field. The alternative policy which was adopted was that of absolute and unconditional submission. Yet, even after deciding upon this policy, the ministry, Turk-like, seem to have procrastinated by sending off their peace commissioners without any proper credentials.

The commissioners went from here on a railway train of twenty cars. Tents, silver, dinner services, delicate viands and choice wines wherewith to tickle the Russian palate, formed their outfit. They had abundance of secretaries, French cooks and servants. They took forty-five horses, fifteen mules, and four fine broughams. The commissioners had, in short, all that they could possibly require excepting the written authority of the Sultan to arrange for the armistice without referring the terms to the Porte. So those downcast gentlemen have been forced to contemplate vacancy at the Russian headquarters during four days, while telegraph and railroad have been obtaining for them the necessary autograph of the Sultan. The final instructions for the peace commissioners have been sent off to-day. The special messenger who bears them has two or three flags of truce for his protection, and orders to fly, for his sole instructions. The autograph letter of the Sultan is all that could be desired, and is accompanied, says rumor, by a private but forcible injunction to the delegates "to finish the wretched business on some terms, and one day ahead of time."

Meanwhile the Russians have taken Adrianople.

Suleiman Pasha has not reported for more than a

week. Scouts [illegible] sent out, as if he and his army were in hi[illegible] somewh[illegible], from Adrianople, from Salonica, and even from Monastir, to search the country for the lost army. Yesterday, however, the Government received a dispatch from him. He is at Gumuljina, a wretched fishing village on the coast of the Archipelago. He attempted to retreat from Tatar Bazarjik upon Adrianople, but did not learn in time of the fall of Shipka. At Philippopolis the Russians attacked him, and, after driving him into a gorge in the Rhodope Mountains, captured all of his stores and his artillery. All that now remains of the two hundred battalions of Turkish troops, which three weeks ago held the line of the Balkans, is a motley crowd of a few thousand famished soldiers, who are on the shores of the Archipelago, clamoring for ships to come and take them to some place where they can get bread.

A column from the army of the Danube quadrilateral, which was marching across the country to join Suleiman, was also routed, but has escaped toward this city. Practically, the Turkish defense was ended when Gourko had clambered over the impassable peaks of the Balkans to rout Shakir Pasha's army at Kamarli. Now, however, the defense is visibly at an end. The whole edifice of the imperial house of Osman seems to be falling to the ground in one terrible crash.

The completeness of the collapse of the Turkish defense is daily brought home to us by the sight of the refugees, who come from Roumelia to the city. The whole Moslem population seems to be moving. Tales of atrocities committed by Cossacks farther to northward, and the certainty of violence at the hands of the Bulgarians, have filled the Moslem population with a

wild panic. The refugees, with [illegible] able to carry [illegible] household effects, fill the roads for fifty miles from the city. They crowd into the city by special trains sent down the railroad. They fill the cars, lie on the roofs, or hang to the platforms. The icy blasts of a pitiless winter search the rents in their thin garments, or pile the snow upon their half-naked bodies. Every train which arrives has a certain number of aged men, or of feeble women, or of tiny babies, who have frozen to death during the terrible journey from Adrianople. Arrived in the city these poor villagers know not where to go, and wander about the streets ankle deep in snow, or curl up in miserable, shivering heaps, under friendly porches. The suddenness of their appearance and the number in which they come defy all effort to provide for them, and many of them die in the streets. The papers to-day tell of a woman who arrived in the night. She sat herself down on a door-step to rest, and then in the darkness a new little life wailed itself into being, and then wailed itself out into the unknown. In the morning both the mother and her new-born babe were found dead, with snow for their couch and snow for their covering. The misery of the refugees has aroused the Europeans of the city to benevolent action; and the Government also has tardily taken up the task of providing shelter and food for them. All the great mosques are filled with the refugees. Under the gilded dome of St. Sophia they are packed in a great mass, and on the stone pavements of Sultan Ahmed, Suleimaniyé, and Bayazid, they huddle together, and groan and weep in the helplessness of despair.

Through all the accumulating disasters of this period, the ministry has been in hourly expectation of an Eng-

lish inter[illegible] would bring them relief. The publication of th[illegible]port o[illegible] opening debate in the English parliament [illegible]as brought into strong relief this expectation of the pashas. True, the Turkish ministry has again and again heard that England has nothing to offer the Sultan. The fact has long since been perfectly evident. Yet the Turks, through long periods of hereditary instruction, have been taught that, in case the partition of their empire is seriously attempted, they may rely for ultimate escape upon European dissensions. In their very blood is rooted the belief that Turkey is necessary to Europe, and particularly to England—the other great Mohammedan power of the world. Hence, even the best informed of the ministers have partaken of the illusions of the people. All along they have secretly believed that, when the crisis finally came, England would cease posturing as a statue of virtue offended, step down from her high pedestal, and once more become the dear "bono Johnny" of Crimean renown. But the debate in the English parliament on the address to the queen destroys this hope. It shows that, so long as Russia protects English commercial interests, she will have nothing to fear from English armies. Even the English ministry have shown themselves capable of ignoring the anguish of the Turks, so long as English interests are safe from harm. In this respect the debate in parliament is more than a disillusion. It is one of those incidents of romance which change love to hate, and leave a slighted being prey to alternate storms of grief and rage.

The prevailing sentiment among the Turks, since the latest development, is indignation against England. "England is our most bitter enemy," says one Turk to-

day. "The veil is stripped off; [illegible]ple to [illegible] is exposed. For Turkey, true safety lies in a [illegible]se union with the power which England fears." In view of this feeling the Government has once more sent around to caution the editors of the city that they must say absolutely nothing against Russia or Russian policy. The fear of offending Russia, and thus adding to the difficulties of the situation, is such that the troops which remain have orders to avoid the Russians, even if they have to fall back on the city to do so.

During all this crisis the Sultan has been at the war council repeatedly, and the ministry have sat at the palace on alternate days. Yet the most that could be done has been to commit to Allah the interests threatened by Servia and Roumania, and the fate of Ruschuk and Silistria, while the provinces and the city are called upon for men to defend Stamboul and the Dardanelles against a coup de main. No reply has yet come from the provinces, but a week has now passed and not a man has volunteered from the city to defend it in the works of Chekmejé. The Christians are now out of the question for military service. If they will be quiet, law-abiding citizens until the end, the Government will feel that they have done their whole duty. As to the Moslems, they have no ambition to leave their houses during this snow storm, in order to take military service on the bleak barrens west of us. Therefore, the Government is fain to send out what militia it commands, and to hope that the Russians will not come any nearer.

The people are excited in the sense of being deeply moved by the crisis, but they are very calm in the direction of manifestations of emotion. The most general feeling which can be found in the city is a purpose to

settle [illegible] ministry as soon as the Russians are out of the way. The hatred for Mahmoud Damad is a passion, although just now an impotent one. "We have a sincere purpose to do right," is a common saying. "We are honest, but our Government is utterly rotten." Yesterday and to-day placards have begun to appear again, directed against the ministry in general, and Mahmoud Damad in particular. The burden of these curious documents is that the ministry has been making war for eight months, and has, by that means, drawn the enemy as far as Adrianople; that the ministry is now continuing warlike measures, and no one knows but what it will draw the Russians to Constantinople. Better let the Government perish and save the nation, say the placards, than suffer the nation to be ruined that the Government may grow fat on the spoils.

This opposition to the ministry sinks into puerility, because it has no plan and no leader. Yet we shall hear well of it in due time, if peace gives it a chance. The Government takes the trouble once more to proclaim death to the disseminators of these placards, which now for the first time are printed documents, and not manuscripts. This fact is proof positive, to the ministry, that the placards come from Russia. Government has been trying to-day to calm the public mind by explaining that peace negotiations and military movements can perfectly well go on together. Of course, nothing that a hated ministry can say will still the people who have a thousand panaceas at hand. One proposal is to get up a monster petition to Europe, in the name of the Ottoman people, which shall turn the flinty hearts of emperors and kings to interfere against the northern invasion. Another suggestion coming from

the ultra Moslem party, is that all theaters and concert saloons be closed, if peradventure God may be pleased thereby, and may save the land. This proposition, as indeed the other also, was gravely presented in parliament on Saturday by a turbaned gentleman, who remarked that if the Government had put into its operations against the Russians half the energy which it showed in the pursuit of the Softas who entered the parliament hall last session, the war would long since have been gloriously ended. These voices of the people, some calling one thing and some another, show the completeness of the disorganization which has seized upon nation as well as ministry.

January 25th.—For nearly ten days the whole city has hourly expected news of the conclusion of an armistice. To-day, instead of this welcome intelligence, we learn that the Grand Duke Nicholas is to leave Kizanlik, and has ordered the Turkish delegates to follow him to Adrianople, there to learn the terms which he has to impose upon them! Meanwhile, the Russian armies are still advancing, and are said to be within seventy-five miles of our walls.

Besides the terrors of the Russian advance, we now have to face the terrors of a very serious question of bread. We are in the midst of a bread panic.

The theory of a paternal government is that it should act on communistic principles, to the extent of providing bread for the people at a reasonable price. The production of bread is under severe restrictions, and the Government daily pounces on ambulant bread-men to weigh their loaves and to confiscate the stock if one loaf is under weight. But gold has gone up twenty per cent. in twenty-four hours, and the wisest precautions

of the fathers of the faithful have failed. Men went hungry to bed last night, because the bakers will not take paper money, whose value may shrink ten per cent. while the bread is baking. I saw a Turkish girl of nineteen or twenty, standing near a baker's shop yesterday, with wrath in her eye. Her veil had fallen, and so, in fact, had her outer mantle. Her face was finely moulded, her eyes black as jet. Her cheeks were flushed with excitement, and her nostrils were dilated. The trouble was that she has been able to earn five piasters a day with which to buy bread for her mother, two small children, and herself. At the beginning of the war bread was one and three-quarter piasters per *oke*, and it required two okes of bread every day for the family. As the paper depreciated, the price of bread was increased, but her wages remained five piasters a day, as before. Yesterday the poor girl was informed by the baker that the price of bread had been raised to five piasters the oke. Still she earns only five piasters per day. Unfortunately she is not the only victim to "the times." The suffering in the city has become very great, and I fear that in the country it may be much worse, even in regions distant from the seat of war. At Erzroom the people are almost starving. Flour is five times the ordinary price, and the poor in that city suffer doubly, because no fuel is to be had. Many have fled, but the common people cannot flee.

At Erzroom there is an American missionary, Rev. Mr. Cole, who has preferred to take the chances of the siege rather than to desert the people who look to him for advice and sympathy in this trying time. So he has remained in the city with his family. With his family lives Miss Nicholson, a lady missionary. These

devoted people have been in great straits, but Mr. Cole has done good work for humanity; tending the wounded on the battle-field; dressing the wounds of those left without care in the filthy hospitals; and cheering by his presence and his kindly words great numbers of the non-combatants who were almost ready to perish with fear. Mr. Cole has used his own limited funds to aid the poor during this terrible siege; and, having had other funds put into his hands by benevolent persons abroad, he is now, assisted by Miss Nicholson, making a systematic canvass of the city, in order to save life by timely gifts of food and fuel. The work of these American Christians is one of which every American and every Christian may well be proud.

The *Levant Herald* has been indulging in some very free comments upon the lack of foresight which is at the bottom of every trouble upon which the Turkish ministry have stumbled. In consequence every one has been watching this paper to see what the bureau of the press will do to it, much as the barbarians watched St. Paul after the viper had been shaken into the fire, expecting him to fall down dead suddenly. The bureau of the press exercises despotic functions in the best of times, and in these war times it is rarely that a newspaper dares indulge in editorial comments. There are eighteen daily newspapers published in the city, besides seven weeklies and semi-weeklies. Of these papers four are official organs of the Government. The languages of the newspapers of Constantinople are English, French, Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Spanish and Bulgarian. The Turkish newspapers are printed, some with Arabic letters, some with Armenian letters, and some with Greek letters. It is

an odd circumstance that there are in Turkey both Armenians and Greeks in large numbers who have lost their own language, but use their own alphabet to write the Turkish, which is their vernacular. A real curiosity is the Spanish newspaper, which is printed in Hebrew letters for the Jews. The Turkish newspapers furnish to a great extent the local news that is found in the columns of the others. These Turkish papers also furnish the earliest war news. This seems to be largely obtained by means of key-hole vigils. The persons concerned are commonly weak in geography, and are not supplied with any vocabulary of military terms. Thus arise those muddled accounts of partially heard telegrams which are given in advance of the official publication. The story telegraphed to Europe a month ago, about an escape of Osman's army toward Rahova, arose from the fact that the key-hole watcher did not hear the whole of the telegram, and imputed to Plevna what was really an account of the evacuation of Rahova. The way these surreptitious news items are bandied about is amusing. The Turkish paper *Basiret* publishes an item in the morning, which is cooked over and appears in *The Levant Herald* or the *Phare du Bosphore*, in slightly different garb, in the evening; next morning the *Basiret* copies the altered version of its own item, as independent testimony to its truth; the third day the *Basiret* has learned that the whole thing is false, and says so. The other papers then follow suit, saying that on investigation the statement of day before yesterday proves erroneous. Reporters, properly speaking, are unknown, and "investigation" into the truth of items is conducted with the scissors and paste-pot. This manner of editing newspapers would be impossi-

ble to the foreign newspaper editors of this city, were it not that neither the chief editors themselves nor one in five hundred of their readers can read the Turkish newspapers, to observe the petty plagiarisms of the "news" columns. Editorial writing is a forgotten art in the five newspapers published in English and French, as indeed one would expect where the expression by foreigners of sentiment on live questions is a matter of so great delicacy. The Turkish newspapers translate a great deal from the European press, but also give verbose editorials. The Greek and Armenian newspapers write editorially on church matters alone, except on occasions where they give space to insincere and nauseous praise of some Government measure. Such articles are sure to be copied by the Turkish papers as testimony to the contented condition of those Christians who are yet untouched by Russian intrigue.

February 5th.—At last we are rid of the mighty Mahmoud Damad Pasha, and his place in the ordnance bureau is so well filled as to leave him no chance. It is reported that the Sultan could not bring himself to the point of discharging a brother-in-law, and that this was a main cause for a change of system which transforms the Grand Vezir into a Prime Minister, with the official right to select his ministerial associates. Be this as it may, Ahmed Vefik Pasha has been invited to form a new ministry upon the basis of choosing his own colleagues. In this new ministry the first feature remarked by every one, is the absence of Mahmoud Pasha's name. Thus the joyful result is accomplished; and still the Sultan may meet any little family unpleasantness by declaring the matter to be beyond his control. The theory of the change of system is that here-

after the ministers will be individually responsible for their several departments. This is a very great change. Hitherto all business, from the hanging of a bell on an Armenian convent in Ararat to the appointment of a foreign ambassador, and from the rationing of refugees in Constantinople to the making of peace, has been dependent upon the approval of the Grand Vezir. While his mind was occupied with one department, all others must wait. The ministers have merely served as chief clerks of the Grand Vezir. Such matters as public works and commerce have thus been so hopelessly shelved that during the war these departments have been confided to an Armenian, who answers to represent the Christians upon the ministry, who draws his pay regularly, and who endeavors to be an ornament to society. To change all this so that one department may be smoothly working even though another is clogged with great affairs, is a mighty undertaking for Turkey. Moreover, a mere stroke of the pen will not accomplish this change. Ahmed Vefik Pasha, savant, littérateur, admirer of what is good in Europe, and an honest man, is, nevertheless, a tremendous tyrant, and will wish to rule the whole ministry as he did the Chamber of Deputies last spring. Hence, croakers are already prophesying the speedy collapse of his ministerial combination.

The common people are generally delighted with the appointment of Ahmed Vefik Pasha to the highest office, because, at least, he knows how to be honest. Moreover, he is very much a people's man. In the street he walks instead of riding, and his portentous bulk attracts universal attention because he goes without the style usual to Pashas. After his audience with

the Sultan, two days ago, Ahmed Vefik Pasha drove to the Porte in a common cab, winning the hearts of the entire populace by discarding the clattering herd of servants and body-guards who commonly follow a Minister. The impression of the people as to any Government measure is very often true. The people are like children for unerring instinct in penetrating shams. Hence I was interested in the views of an intelligent Turk on the change of system implied in the substitution of the new office of Prime Minister for the ancient office of Grand Vezir. He said, "It is really nothing new. It is the foreign translation of the Turkish title of Grand Vezir. Our Government thinks the foreign title may be the most lucky just now!" and then he chuckled the peculiar inward chuckle which accompanies a capital stroke of business by a Turk. The vital part of any new measure, in a Turk's eyes, is its conformity to old rules, and the conformity which at first exists in appearance will be found to exist in fact at a later period. There are those who declare that this great change of system in Turkey is simply a stage effect intended to work on the feelings of the approaching Peace Conference, as the guns which saluted the constitution last year were expected to move the feelings of the Conference of Constantinople. I happen to know that Hamdi Pasha, the late Grand Vezir, telegraphed to a friend two days before his own overthrow, "We have changed our policy." This may be taken to mean anything; but if it referred, as seems likely, to the substitution of a Prime Minister for a Grand Vezir, we have the pleasing spectacle of the last of the Grand Vezirs calmly plotting his own overthrow and semi-exile as Governor of Aïdin, in order that Eu-

rope might be dazzled by the spectacle of a "free Constitutional Government" erected on the ruins of his own absolutism.

The new ministers are not, by any means, new men. The same old names turn up once more. The longing of the average Turk to see men in office whose record is a virgin page has not been granted, although it has reached a passionate intensity. Still, these ministers doubtless mean to do well. They are, however, quite as likely as heretofore to rely on the embassies for conscience, and with characteristic ill-luck always to grasp the superficial instead of the real, when the choice is left to them.

Meanwhile, the complexion of affairs here daily becomes worse. The Government departments are completely disorganized so far as the transaction of business is concerned. You go to them with business, and the clerks stare at you. You press the matter, and get for an answer, "You are doubtless right, but come after this present trouble is past, and we will examine it." The condition of all the departments here and of administration in the interior is the same. A complaint from Adabazar, less than one hundred miles away, was sent to the Porte the other day, to the effect that the Circassians are eating everybody out of house and home, and are stealing all the live stock in the country. From the Porte inquiry was made in due form, and the reply came back from the local administration, "Yes, it is all so, and worse, but this is the best we can do." This answer was handed over by the Porte to the petitioners as full and sufficient answer. In the Assembly, the other day, a deputy stated that Aidos and Bourgas, on the Black Sea, and the villages round about, had

been burned by Turks and Circassians, who had killed many Christians, besides carrying off a number of girls to be sold, and that the governors of those places were the first to begin the work. Yet the only answer or notice the complaint received was an assurance from divers delegates, that after the signature of peace the deputy shall have all the investigation he desires.

Circassian robberies in the streets are of daily occurrence. The Government has concentrated all its energies upon the preservation of order in Pera and Galata; but the rest of this city is largely stripped of police or military force, and the defense of the people of these quarters depends on the watchmen, who, armed with an immense club, make night hideous by banging it on the pavement, but who, were they to meet a Circassian marauder, would stand and jump up and down with terror, like a school-girl before a cow. The streets are crowded with all kinds of people, and there is a noticeable increase of quarrelsomeness in the crowd. It begins to seem as if an explosion of the pent forces in the city can hardly be avoided, unless some positive evidence of peace brings relaxation of the terrible strain which is on all the people. There are those who are horribly afraid of the Russians on wrong information; men who have bought Parisian head gear for their wives and favorites, and who are learning how to make the sign of the cross, in order to escape harm by passing as Christians. These are not dangerous, but they make others so by their talk. Then, there are the relics of the "blood" party, who are watching every opportunity to stir up anew resistance. Then there is the great herd of refugees; many of them bloody men, who would enjoy nothing better than a devil's riot in

Constantinople; others, men who, having lost all, are just now realizing the loss, and smarting for retaliation on somebody. All of these people are full of doubt as to whether their losses and their humiliation have availed anything for peace. The uncertainty as to what Russia intends to do is as great as ever, although the terrible protocol of conditions has been signed. Moreover, the whole people believe that the catastrophes which swept away the armies in Roumelia were due to Russian duplicity. They are unable to make anything out of the muddle of the negotiations. But they believe that the Russians promised an armistice, and then refused to observe it as soon as the Turks accepted it; advancing upon Turkish armies puzzled by the contradiction. It is now a month since Turkey practically surrendered at discretion, and yet no one knows that Russia will ever stop the advance of her armies.

The great question of the day with the people of this city, however, is still the refugees and what to do with them. The vast rush of new-comers has mainly ceased, although Circassians are still coming in. Multitudes have been sent off, including some thousands of Circassians dispatched to Tripoli, in Africa, for which everybody is profoundly grateful to the Government. There is no end to the villainy of these Circassians; they steal everything. Fifteen Christian children stolen by them in Bulgaria have been detected and rescued here, and, of course, numbers of others may have escaped detection. I am credibly informed that when the police examined the baggage of a party of Circassians who were on their way from the railway station to the ship, they found in a sack a Bulgarian priest who was about to be carried off as a slave with the general baggage. The

Circassians are not an interesting class of refugees, as they take the best of everything themselves and leave their women to get along as well as they can. A Circassian may often be seen riding on horseback, followed by three or four women on foot who are loaded with babies and bedding. All the women of the refugees are much worse off than the men. They are in some degree treated as beasts of burden. Notwithstanding their hard lot, the Circassian women whom I have seen under shelter in the city seemed to be contented enough, placidly sewing like their Western sisters, and entirely undisturbed by the curious eyes watching them. You see more suffering, perhaps, among the Turkish refugees than among the Circassians. The Christian refugees are so few in proportion to the Turks that they are easily cared for. An English gentleman was distributing aid to some destitute Bulgarians the other day, when a Turkish army officer rebuked him with partiality to Christians. "Show me Turks," said the Englishman, "equally destitute, and I will help them in the same way." The officer gave him an address, and the Englishman, after waiting a day, so that there might be no opportunity for deception, went to the place named, and found eighteen men and women in a stone-floored room, shivering with cold, and with nothing to cover them, and nothing to put between them and the pavement. They had, like all refugees, the Government rations of bread, and perfectly overwhelmed my English friend with gratitude when he sent up some coarse reed matting to serve for beds and some comfortable quilts to be used as covering. The Turks are doing many things for the relief of the sufferers. One Turk, avowedly with a view of procuring an en-

trance to Paradise by good works, is all the time seeking out among the refugees quartered in mosques and other public places women who are in particularly delicate health, and having found such he finds a place for them in houses of his acquaintance, where they can have a trifle more comfort than the common herd. Of course there are rascals who take advantage of the uncontrollable numbers in which these refugees have come in, to perpetrate outrages on the poor creatures under pretense of helping them. There are many who speculate on the necessities of the refugees. The supply of fodder in the city is exhausted, and the Russians allow none to come in. Hence the cattle brought in by these people are sold in great numbers for the price of the hide. A horse costs from one dollar to two dollars, and an ox about the same. A donkey can be had to-day for fifty cents in specie.

The English compassionate fund is doing a great deal for the refugees. Its agents have taken off their coats and have gone to work in business-like style. There is a refuge for women and children, sustained by them, near the Stamboul railway station, and another at Ak-Serai, near the old Janissary barracks. A very grave difficulty in aiding the refugees is the enormous amount of imposture to which strangers who try to aid these people are exposed. The really needy can only be found after an amount of work in the way of investigation which few are willing to undertake. Circassians come into the city, and leave their families to be cared for by charity, and go out again to pillage. Bashi Bozouks eat the bread of the refugee funds, and sell silver candlesticks, pillaged from Bulgarian churches, for wine to wash down the bread. Women apply for aid as widows,

and when you go to their homes you find a lazy husband and other relatives living off the gifts of benevolence.

The scarcity of money in this country is so great that every man seems to feel that he is justified in hiding his own purse, and living entirely on those who are now so willing to give. The people who openly ask alms are often the very ones to whom one ought not to give anything. When you go to their dismal quarters, the refugees look so wretched that the first impulse is to empty one's pockets at once. You enter the door of a long, low stable. The floor is earth; just inside stand one or two donkeys, privileged on account of the rain. Squatting on the bare ground, or, in some cases of unusual luxury, sitting on mats, are men, women, boys, girls, grouped by families or inclination, some with a few coals of fire on the ground in front of them, others without that much comfort. Along the length of the building is a manger which is filled with babies wrapped in coarse flannels. You feel that the people must be taken out at all hazards, but you are assured they are no worse off than in their native villages, excepting that here the families are a little less separate, and that the women have to wash clothes in the soup-kettle instead of going to the river. Hence great judgment is required in order to avoid giving alms injudiciously to the prejudice of persons really suffering from extreme want.

Muhtar Pasha, the commander of the army at Erzroom, has been called here to command the defense of the city.

February 6th.—The conflicting rumors regarding an armistice still keep the city in a ferment. No one can learn what terms have been given, or how long the

Russians will continue to advance. No one knows whether the armistice is really arranged.* There has been nothing like disorder, but the people are excited. They fancy the ministry are raising obstacles to the peace which every one desires, and they curse the ministry. An old Imam of a Stamboul mosque asked me what the truth is about the negotiations. "Our people tell us only lies; but you know what is being done." He said that the one desire of his heart was to see peace arranged and everything finished, and then to see the pashas punished for eating up the people's money. He said that the pashas are greater enemies of the country than the Russians, or the English, on whom, in his opinion, rests the main responsibility for the miseries of Turkey. The ministers know the feeling of the people toward them, and live in great uneasiness. Their continuous sessions at the War Department are quite as much for personal safety as for reasons of state. They are seldom seen on the street. Mahmoud Damad I have not seen for ten days; whereas in ordinary times he was ubiquitous. The ministers have taken a sudden fit of benevolence, each pasha receiving and feeding thirty or forty families of refugees upon his premises. The wicked declare that the pashas select only such families of refugees as include stout young men, with keen appreciation of the fact that in any tumult these men will fight to defend the place which shelters them and their kindred.

Constantinople is more and more assuming the char-

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* The armistice was signed on the evening of the 31st of January, 1878. But its terms were kept absolutely secret until the Russian troops had arrived at the fortifications of Constantinople. This secresy caused great consternation, not only in Constantinople but in England.

acter of a powder magazine. The refugees in the city now number at least eighty thousand. All empty houses, cellars, stables, coal holes and chicken coops are filled with them. Of these people at least one-fourth are men, and armed. Thousands of the Bashi Bozouks who have plundered villages, slain innocent people, murdered the wounded on battle-fields, are now here. Again and again these people have said, "What we have suffered is not a twentieth of the sufferings we inflicted on the Bulgarians." Others have boasted of having killed Bulgarians as one might brag of killing prairie chickens. They are all more or less cowed and harmless for the moment. But if some small disturbance should occur at any point the whole mass of these ruffians would be moved to action, and the limits which could be placed to their madness cannot be forecast. The people of Pera are always quick to distrust Stamboul, because it is, in a sense, a *terra incognita* to them. They are now disturbed by fear; and I find that the Turks themselves, who own property here, are nearly as much inclined to panic. For protection, in case of an emergency, the Government would be nothing. There are eight or ten small foreign war vessels which could muster some hundreds of sailors, and there is the English fleet at Besika Bay. Upon these ships would depend our safety in any upheaval of the masses.

The extraordinary power of superstition over all Orientals is an element of danger not easy to anticipate or control. There is a large class of the common people who actually believe that the Czar's victories are to be accounted for by the fact that he is in possession of an autograph of the Prophet Mohammed. They would

like to organize some wild expedition of fanatic dervishes to penetrate Tzarskoï-Selo and capture the precious document. This cannot be done, and so they say that the true cause of the war is an unholy purpose on the part of the Czar to capture the prophet's mantle, his old shoe, and the hair from his beard, which are now here. These relics, once in the Czar's possession, along with the autograph, would enable him to conquer the universe. Now the Czar has found that these relics cannot be easily taken, and he is willing to renounce the quest. Upon this the Turkish people consent to peace. With such ideas at large among the people it is evident that in a moment of ebullition the people, besides laying upon you their real grievances, may also charge you with witchcraft or some such supernatural villainy, and then all Salem could not outdo their fury.

February 8th.—Uneasiness and uncertainty reached a climax in this city yesterday, when there was something near to a panic, if so undignified a word may be applied to any emotion of the Turks. The police had been drafted into the ranks of the army, or had been withdrawn from the vast Turkish quarters of the city in order to protect Pera, Kadikeuy, and other foreign centers. Rumors constantly floated through the streets that the Russians were still advancing. They had appeared in the forest of Belgrade, at the valley of the Sweet Waters, and at other suburban localities. Testimony of the truth of the stories was found in the appearance of a ceaseless stream of Bashi Bozouks, armed to the teeth, savage and hungry enough for any desperate follies. Circassians scuttled away on every side or meditatively peered into window and door, as if

appraising the loot each house would furnish. Refugees stood on the street corners and grumbled under their breath, or thronged the bridges and public squares, surlily resentful of the slightest jostling of the crowd. The Turkish residents were glum and silent. Even the cries of the street-venders were hushed, and there was a silence in the air which was oppressive, like the silence before a tornado or an earthquake. I could not get out to the fortifications to see for myself; but the last report which I received from the front, at nightfall, was that the Russians were in line before the fortifications, had summoned the Turks to leave, and that Muhtar Pasha had refused to evacuate, and was preparing to fight. This morning, however, as soon as I set foot on the bridge, there was a straggling crowd of ragged, gaunt wretches, uniformed in dirt, whose rusty Peabody rifles showed that they were supposed to be soldiers. This made it evident that Muhtar Pasha had given up. The truth soon came out that the evacuation of the defenses of Constantinople was the last and hardest of the terms of the armistice. The Government had concealed the matter from the people, fearing a tumult, although the silence of the Government was the very thing needed to provoke one. It was only after the Russians actually arrived in force in front of the line that the evacuation was seriously undertaken, and then only thirty-six hours remained of the eight days allowed for the purpose. Several heavy Krupp guns were therefore left in the forts—sacrificed to the plan of hiding bad news from the people.

All day to-day, Bashi Bozouks, Circassians, Gypsies and demoralized soldiers have continued to pour into the city, and little rows have occurred here and there.

For instance, a Circassian rode through a group of Armenian hamals (porters) on the Bayazid square, and jostled one of them, who resented it. The Circassian then drew his sword and struck the Armenian on the arm. The plucky hamals, although unarmed, rushed on the Circassian, took his naked sword from his hand, and dragged him from his horse. The Circassian, however, broke away from them, and, drawing his dagger, made a lunge out at the nearest hamal; but an American gentleman, who chanced to be passing on horseback, was able to interpose his whip and divert the dagger. Upon this, some Softas and other Turks rushed into the melée, and cursing both Circassian and hamals, forced them to depart in opposite directions. The police being always unavailable in any such emergency, several times citizens, commonly bearded and turbaned Turks, have stopped a nascent effervescence in the streets by sending off the quarrelers in opposite lines with the remark that they ought to know better than to get angry on the street at critical times, when any private row may grow to be a national affair of European interest in five minutes. This cool appreciation of the situation on the part of the better class of the people has gone far to supply the want of a sensible government. Mr. Layard says that there is "no Government here," and he was not far from right when he made the statement to Lord Derby. If, however, his telegram went to London by way of Bombay and Fao, as is probable, the Government had begun to recover control of the city again before the dispatch reached England. Troops have come in from the forts and are now established in all the barracks in town.

February 9th.—Throughout the whole crisis, the par-

ties have at least had coolness enough to see that, from public or private charity, bread has been given to the vast hungry crowd which fills the streets. This, in the eyes of the classes who make the lack of government dangerous, is one of the first duties of a king, and thus they have not been aware of the situation described by Mr. Layard. It is currently believed that there is no accident in the frequent occurrence of alarmist phrases in the dispatches from the English embassy here to the Home Government. To put it frankly, Mr. Layard is believed to be trying to help on a European war as heartily as if he were a pasha of three tails. But this little game, if it is such, is too late. The Russians have the advantage, and can afford to give England and other inquiring minds in Europe, Tweed's conundrum of, "What are you going to do about it?" For they can be in full occupation of both the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus within twelve hours after any European power begins to dispute the matter.

Still steps have been taken to gather a new army, although, as a Turkish officer sagely remarked, "There doesn't seem to be any place left to the Sultan on which to deploy it." New recruits come in every day. They are stout-limbed, smooth-faced boys, tied together, often by a thong about the wrists, and jostling as they come the crowds of broken-spirited old soldiers, who are arriving from the retreat through the Rhodope to the Archipelago. Many of these old soldiers are perfect types of misery. They are in rags, their guns look as if they had been in mud-puddles, their heads hang like those of whipped school-boys, and they wearily drag one foot after another, generally going in single file, as if misanthropically disgusted with life. Sometimes a

regiment comes in whose clean, well-kept guns show soldierly instincts; but even here the step is without spring, the ranks disordered, and the appearance of the men is utterly weary and demoralized. Their condition is melancholy enough to warrant the expression of their faces. They have suffered everything. They have frozen and starved alternately, and both frozen and starved together. They have fought desperate but hopeless battles, and have found all their efforts vain, through incompetent leaders. They have sacrificed their home property, crops, and cattle, and are now reduced to poverty, being denied even the small sum needed to take them home. The contrast is striking between their lot and that of the American soldiers at the end of the war in 1865; who were well clad, well fed, and paid as much for one month's service as the Turk would receive in a whole year, even if he was paid in full.

But any Turkish thought of further resistance is folly, for the Russians have the city and the empire completely in their grasp. This result has come about so gradually that we have watched the successive steps leading to it as those who float in dreams from realm to realm, and have no wonder for the marvels they behold. The vastness of the changes in progress were hardly realized until the empire was practically broken down, and stood revealed as without stable foundation in Europe or in Asia.

If the Turks are making new preparations for possible war, so are the Russians. They are fortifying and are said to be laying down torpedoes in the Sea of Marmora to defend the seaports of Rodosto and Silivria. They are also getting in great quantities of provisions from home, and also from this city. Every shop-keeper in

Constantinople who can get a cart of any kind, or a stout boat, loads it up with wines, liquors, bad cigars, and canned meats. Then he disappears, but shortly reappears with beaming countenance and plethoric wallet.

The blockade on Russian seaports is at last removed, and a whole fleet of English steamers, which have been waiting since the beginning of negotiations, have departed for the Danube, Odessa, the Sea of Azof, or any other place that promises quickly to afford grain cargoes in exchange for those of coal. This raises an interesting question. The Government advertised not long ago that, for two months, it would pay a bonus of five per cent on all wheat and flour brought into the city. The two months' time does not expire until April 1st, and yet the raising of the blockade has removed the stringency in breadstuffs, and has made the Government grieve in spirit over its rash promise of a bonus. The question is whether it will keep its promise, in view of the flood of grain about to pour into the city.

The terms of the peace are a model of vagueness. They are really equivalent to no terms at all, since they may be expanded to the extinction of the party of the second part, if Europe does not object. The old Imam, who lives near me, and who comes in every day or two to learn the news, has been wringing his hands over them. "Our nation is destroyed, our nation is ruined," is the burden of his complaints. The question of independence for the three principalities of Servia, Roumania, and Montenegro does not affect the average Turk, except that he sighs to think of the lost chance of vengeance on Montenegro, best hated of them all. The evacuation of the fortresses, surrender of territory, the opening of the Straits, and the establishment of self-

government in the European provinces, are all sentimental questions, which the Turks can meet in equanimity as kismet. But the indemnity clause weighs on them. When the true Turk, in talking of the terms of peace, arrives at the question of indemnity, he stops and curses Russia with some gigantic mouthful of oaths, before he can pass the subject. It is currently reported that the Government is going to put a tax of one cent per pound on bread, in order to pay the Russian bill. The financiers of the Turkish Treasury are quite equal to such a decision, but, luckily, European bankers have influence enough to prevent the execution of it.

Meanwhile, Parliament goes calmly on with its debates on recreant officials, and its examination of petitions from the people. No sound of war penetrates the Hall, and it can give an hour, for instance, to discussing an office-seeker's petition, the question under debate being whether the petitioner is entitled to office to the end of time, because he has once served a sub-governor of a town. The office-seeker generally claims that this service has given him a reasonable expectation of office, which, in equity, cannot be set aside. Let American legislators take great comfort in the thought that they were not born under the Turkish sun, or they would have had this grief also upon their shoulders. Parliament is treated with great deference by the new ministry, Ahmet Vefik Pasha, the Prime Minister, having twice condescended to go unasked to the Hall, in order to enlighten the assembly on political events. The assembly, therefore, declares its confidence in the ministry. But the deputies are determined to set right the question of responsibility for the disasters of the war. The Minister of War, Reouf Pasha, has been

summoned to answer why he lost the battle of Yeni Zagra, in July, 1877, and why he has declared in every public place that the blame belongs to Suleiman Pasha? Suleiman Pasha has also been invited to explain why he lost the Balkans, and the Shipka army, and his artillery, and Adrianople, and to say also why he has declared on all sides that the blame of this is with Reouf Pasha. Parliament thinks that if all the disasters of the war are due to a private quarrel between Reouf and Suleiman, it is time something was done about it.

February 13th.—There is much merriment in town over the vain attempt of the English fleet to pass the Dardanelles. Six ships came up from Besika Bay under orders to go to Constantinople to protect life and property. The commander of the forts of the Dardanelles said he had no orders. The case was referred to the Porte, and the Porte maintained that the presence of the fleet was entirely unnecessary. There was quite a tempest in a teapot over the matter. The Turks persistently refused; the English said they would come through anyhow; the Turks replied they would resist, and finally Ahmet Vefik Pasha in person went to Mr. Layard and begged him not to insist on the passage of the fleet. It is commonly believed here that the Russians refrained from occupying Constantinople only on condition that the British ironclads should be excluded from the Dardanelles. It is also believed that if the fleet forces the Dardanelles, the Russians will be in possession of the city before the ships can reach the Bosphorus. However this may be, criers were sent through the city night before last, to tell the people that the English ships were coming, and that there

would be guns fired, but that they must not be afraid, although people living in rickety houses had best seek other quarters, lest the concussion destroy them. But this was all vain, and now there are posters stuck up in Pera: "Lost—Between Besika Bay and the Sultan's Palace, a fleet of six fine ironclads, bearing the English flag. Any one communicating to Lord Beaconsfield information as to their whereabouts will be suitably rewarded!" The Turks love the English less and less. They feel betrayed—and no wonder, for it is the England of Lord Beaconsfield that made promises, and the England of Lord Carnarvon that appeared when call was made for their fulfillment. "What do we want of English ironclads now?" say the disgusted Turks. "Three weeks ago they would have been of some use, but now we want none." In view of the popular hatred of the English, the Minister of Police became alarmed about the posters in Pera, one having been affixed to the door of the English Embassy. He sent at once to Mr. Layard, offering to put his whole force at work to discover where the document was printed. But Mr. Layard had the good sense to decline to use Turkish despotism for the righting of a personal grievance, and passed the affair as a joke beneath notice.

The Roumelian Railway has resumed its traffic between this city and Adrianople. Passengers who desire to pass the Russian lines have to get their passports viséd at the German Consulate in this city, where, by the way, the Russian consular clerks have been at work all this time. The postal service is also in operation, but the Russians read every letter. Some of the people object to this, but the post office clerks make answer that the reading of letters is no more objectionable than

the reading of telegrams, to which no one thinks of objecting.

The Greeks are affording new anxieties to the sorely tried pashas of the Porte. The Greek army has crossed into Thessaly, "in order to protect the inhabitants." Of course the meaning of this is, that Greece desires a share of the spoils, and fears to be overlooked, because of her failure to join in the war. The Turks have sent troops to Volo, and can send many more, so that the Greek armies are too late to accomplish much by main force. But England interfered, inducing King George to withdraw his forces, after a campaign of three days. The movement of Greece has secured the object sought by its fomenters. Greece is to be considered when the Powers come to the point of settling the results of the war. There have since been some lively skirmishes between the Turkish troops and the rebels in Thessaly. These "rebels," like those in Crete, are largely led and recruited by Greeks, who have no interests at stake in the property which will be destroyed if the insurrections continue. The real people of Thessaly have no stomach for the losses which they would endure through a doubtful rebellion. The rebellion is too late—it comes at the fag end of a commotion which has tortured them during two long years. But the movement is none the less a serious matter for the Turkish Ministry. There is a large Moslem population in Thessaly and Epirus, and the Government cannot fail to be moved by anything that indicates a question as to its permanent control of this territory.

Although Greece has come rather late to the foreground, it is impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact that her part may be most important in the final settle-

ment of the Eastern question. Her case would be hard if it depended upon the success of the mad ventures in Crete, Thessaly, and Epirus. But England has taken her up, by promising attention to Greek interests when the time comes for the settlement of the treaty of peace. Turkey is no longer a military power, and it looks as if England expects Greece to step into the place of Turkey as the anti-Slav bulwark of Western Europe. The simple rumor that England will demand representation for Greece in the Congress which is expected to be the ultimate arbiter between Turkey and Russia, has raised a thousand hopes, and has won the ardent love of the Greek people. Poor Queen Olga, on the other hand, has had to shed daily tears over the hatred which the Athenians have developed during the last few weeks for everything Russian. The more impulsive among the Athenian newspaper writers even propose to leave the Eastern Church, because it is that of Russia, and to turn to the Church of England, as the one which has developed the noble instincts lately so conspicuous in the English character. The explanation of the Greek frenzy against Russia is not far to seek. All Greeks believe that Constantinople is one day to become their capital. The first son of King George was named Constantine, in order that he might be ready to resume with dramatic effect the throne lost by Constantine Palæologus, in 1453. But the Russian conquest of Roumelia has interposed a barrier between the Greeks and their dream. Even territory peopled by Greeks is likely to be added to Bulgaria, that the wall may rest on the Ægean Sea. Everything Slav has therefore become hateful.

The Greeks have an ethnographical map of European

Turkey, published by Stamford, of London, which delivers over to the Greek race vast tracts marked for the Slavs by Kieppert. It is impossible to get at the truth as to the race boundaries without a real census—a thing unheard of in Turkey. The best authorities on the subject are only guessers after all, and guessers may be at fault since many Greek-speaking people are Bulgarians. There are statistics based on something like a census in the Turkish records, but of these you find different officials give such varying versions, that you do not know whether they furnish fact or fiction. The published statistics of the Turkish Government ignore race differences as they ignore women. They give you the number of towns, villages, isolated farms, the houses, the number of male inhabitants, but nothing else. The only certainty in this controversy seems to be that many Greek districts will be swallowed up in the new Bulgaria, which is to result from the war. But there are also many districts thoroughly Bulgarian, which will be left in Turkish Macedonia, ultimately to fall, perhaps, to Greece. However, this question of ethnographical boundaries is only a side issue in the great conflict between Greek and Slav ambitions. Of this conflict the end is yet far off.

For the time being the Slav has the upper hand. The Russian demands have forced Turkey to give Bulgaria an autonomy and a boundary which may be made to take in all Roumelia; they have won for Servia an extension of territory and a long-desired independence; they have gained independence and a wide enlargement for Montenegro. Besides taking Roumania from Turkey they have placed the Sultan under pecuniary bonds which must keep him ever a vassal to the great Slav

power. The more closely to bind the Sultan to this vassalage, Russia has forced him to surrender, as a condition of the armistice, the fortifications of Constantinople, of the Danube, and of Erzroom. Turkey is prone at the feet of the Slavs. The alarm of the Greeks, who expect nothing from the Slavs, but everything from the Turks, is not surprising.

February 15th.—The Eastern question is beset with interminable complications, which produce crisis after crisis. A file of Constantinople papers, covering the past two years, is a record of tension only passing away at times to be succeeded by greater. The negotiations concerning the Andrassy note; the Bulgarian insurrection; the Berlin memorandum; the Servian war; the Conference; the negotiations for united action in Europe, followed by the Russian war; have each, in turn, and at every successive stage, seemed to be the supreme crisis until a greater crisis appeared. The complete surrender of Turkey and the arrival of the Russians at our fortifications, seemed to be the cap of all climaxes, until the demand of the English fleet for admission produced a greater crisis.

The earnest request of Ahmed Vefik Pasha to Mr. Layard for the arrest of the fleet was accompanied by information that if the English fleet were allowed to come to Constantinople, the Russians would infallibly enter the city. Council followed on council: All the men who have held office at any time, with representatives of the Softa or Ulema class, the generals now in town, the senators and deputies, were invited to aid in devising measures of escape. Mr. Layard announced that the fleet would pass on the 13th instant, with or without the consent of the Porte. Upon this, General

Ignatieff's dragoman, Mr. Onou, came down from Adrianople, with a little note to say that as soon as the English fleet was allowed to enter the Dardanelles, the armistice would be considered as ended. Other powers sent around word that their fleets would also enter the Straits, if the English fleet were permitted to do so. The ministry were at their wits' ends, and entreaties for moderation were addressed to both Russians and English. Rumors came in to intensify the excitement. Austria had crossed the frontier into Servia and Roumania, and was marching against the Russian reserve forces. The Russians were laying torpedoes in the Marmora, and were building heavy fortifications near the neutral zone of demarcation. Ministry and people, horror-stricken, pictured to themselves a battle fought over passive Constantinople, between the Russians on the heights and the English in the sea. Mr. Layard declared himself powerless to interfere with the progress of the fleet, excepting that he might select for it an anchorage in the Sea of Marmora, so distant from the harbor of Constantinople, that the Russians could not reasonably claim that its presence there was an English occupation of the city. The Russians then agreed to occupy only the environs of the city, and to do this in a friendly way, since the Turks, by formally protesting against the entrance of the fleet, would make it unnecessary to end the armistice. The Turks made their protest, and in spite of it the English fleet came up, hidden from sight-seers by a fierce snow storm, and anchored among the Prince's Islands, but the Russians did not appear; and shortly the English ships hauled off a little farther into one of the gulfs of the sea, where they are within three or four hours' sail of the city, but sufficiently far from it to satisfy the Russian qualms.

The fleet keeps well out of sight behind the point of Touzla. Sometimes the great ships come into view for a short time, as they go through the manœuvres of the squadron, but they quickly hide themselves again, and although the Russians may watch never so carefully, they will hardly see the ships. The anchorage of the English fleet is nearly the same as that chosen by Admiral Duckworth in 1807, after he had forced the Dardanelles. It is a place of ill omen, for Admiral Duckworth had to make an inglorious retreat three weeks later, before the bristling cannon which covered the approaches to the Bosphorus. Theoretically the English fleet is here to promote the settlement of the question of the Straits. This question of the Straits as a European question dates back to the time of Demosthenes. As stated by that great orator, it led the Athenians to send a fleet, which saved Byzantium from Philip of Macedon, although the Byzantines were as unsavory then as now. The question was then a question of commerce, but now it is not. The navigation of the Straits is perfectly free to all merchantmen without fee or license. A small sum, mutually agreed upon by the Powers, is collected from passing ships, for the light-house service; but that would continue to be collected in any case, and is no part of the question of the Straits.

The question of the Straits is, whether the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles shall be used as a bar to keep war vessels from going down from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean, and from passing up from the Mediterranean into the Black Sea. In time of peace no possible interest can attach to the question, and if Russia could induce the Turks to enter into an alliance with her, she would have no further interest in the matter,

although the European naval powers might look on regretfully. But in time of war the Straits are of vital importance to Russia, as a few Russian guns at the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus would place Russia entirely beyond the reach of any hostile naval power. There are three solutions to the question: (1) No ships of war to pass the Straits except as specified by treaty; (2) Ships of war belonging to the nations which border the seas, to which the Straits afford the only access, to pass the Straits at will, but no other war ships to do so under any circumstances; and (3) All ships of war to pass the Straits freely.

The first solution is the one England desires, and is the arrangement that has held good up to the present time; it protects Russia from attack unless Turkey is at war with her. The second is what Russia desires, and England dreads, since it would allow Russia to send fleets from the Black Sea to wage war upon any Mediterranean power, with absolute freedom from danger to herself so long as she is at peace with Turkey. The third solution seems to be the only just one, and accords with the position which the United States takes on the question. But all the Powers seem equally opposed to absolute freedom of the Straits, and Russia more so than any other.

The Russians purpose, in case the Straits are thrown open to the war ships of all nations, to have a small naval station at Beicos, on the upper Bosphorus. The position is well chosen. It is the Hunkiar Iskelessi, where the secret alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between Russia and Turkey in 1833, and where the Russians at that time had a military station in a friendly way. From the site of the Egyptian Pal-

ace at Beicos, guns might command the Bosphorus as far as Scutari. A naval station there would not be tenable without possession also of the "Giant's Mountain," just behind the village, and would naturally include it. The position once fortified would be a perfect Gibraltar, and would effectually close the Bosphorus against all comers. Above Beicos is smooth water, perfectly protected from the guns of any hostile fleet, and there a Russian fleet could take refuge, and repair at leisure. Whether the Powers would allow Russia to have such a naval station on the Bosphorus is quite another question. In time of peace Russia is protected by the present regulations of the Straits. Hence the European Powers are compelled to consider that her real wish is to use the Straits for offensive rather than defensive purposes.*

Excitement about this matter has died away, but there is a strong commotion over local politics. While the negotiations with the English and Russians were at their height, the Parliament was prorogued by the Sultan, to the amazement of all, inasmuch as only a day or two before deputies had been present in the council

* The question of the Straits, like all the other subdivisions of the Eastern question, is closely linked with the question of the control of Constantinople. Among the considerations which interest Europe in the Eastern question, entirely aside from the possibilities of Constantinople as a center of political power, and as deep as the jealousy excited by efforts of any one Power to obtain control of those possibilities, are the facilities for trade offered by Constantinople, and the sense of danger to commerce which is aroused in all the cabinets of Europe by a proposal to change the existing state of things. Every European nation may now encourage its subjects to establish mercantile establishments at Constantinople, or it may apply to its subjects residing there its own laws and imposts—just as though this city was a province of its own domain. It may send its

held at the Sultan's palace. At first the loss of the Parliament seemed only one grief the more in a mass of sorrows so great as to overwhelm the people. The people found support in the thought lately often repeated, "When peace is finished and the Russians are gone, we shall settle accounts with the ministers of the Sultan." But the summary expulsion from the city of several leading deputies, and the arrest and imprisonment, as if guilty, of Suleiman Pasha, have stirred the people to strong dissatisfaction, and now patrols are continually walking the streets to break up knots of sidewalk talkers, and throttle any incipient disturbance.

The real cause of the prorogation of Parliament is probably its attitude toward Reouf Pasha on his quarrel with Suleiman. But fierce discussions about Bashi Bozouks and Circassians, which brought the deputies almost at each other's throats, afforded the pretext, and frankness of criticism on the operations of the Government the occasion for the dissolution. In the great council which discussed a mode of escape from the alarming position in which Turkey is placed, as a buffer between England and Russia, several deputies expressed their minds freely to the effect that the dis-

fleets of merchant ships to engage in the carrying trade between Constantinople and the Turkish seaboard provinces, crowding out all native enterprise. While the Sultan rules Turkey his treaty obligations secure the continuance of these privileges to every European nation. But on the day when any European Power enters into the control of Constantinople all these abnormal privileges will necessarily be lost to all the other Powers. The fortunate possessor of Constantinople will naturally insist on jurisdiction over all residents of the territory, and will reserve for its own subjects the benefits of the local commerce. This fact explains the hesitancy of European Powers to agree to any change of the regulations which now govern the use of the Straits.

asters of the country were largely due to men who have been retained in the ministry in spite of the continual opposition of the people. But one old gentleman, who being from Damascus, does not know Turkish, wished very much to express his sentiments, and was forced to do so in the few words he did know. He blurted out, "Nothing the Sultan does succeeds; the people are discontented." This was the truth in the minds of several, but all were aghast at its coming out in the bold livery of a small vocabulary. It is said that the Sultan was speechless for some moments, and when he recovered breath it was to say, "Get it out of the way," which, being understood to refer to the Chamber of Deputies, was translated into a proclamation that the Sultan, grateful to the Senate and Chamber for their labors, was yet obliged to prorogue the session a month before the time, owing to the political situation, which prevents the Chamber from performing all its duties.

The affair between Reouf and Suleiman has all the characteristics of a deadly struggle, and one of the two will probably go down for all time. Suleiman Pasha's case is that Reouf, as Minister of War, has thwarted him at all points, with a view of gratifying personal hate and professional jealousy. He even declares that Reouf left him for five days at Sophia without information of the fall of Shipka, and thus caused the destruction of the army. Reouf Pasha's case is that Suleiman, consumed by lust for place, planned his campaigns with the view of monopolizing all the renown which would attend success. He says that Suleiman refused to co-operate with Mehmet Ali when co-operation would have sent the Russians back to Roumania; that he refused to aid Osman, at Plevna, for fear Osman

would receive the highest reward; and that at last, when Reouf was made Minister of War, Suleiman, from sheer spite, willfully threw away his army, with two hundred guns. Both generals have partisans. The people like Suleiman, and believe in him, and they hate Reouf, who is a Circassian. The Chamber of Deputies, professedly seeking to have an investigation of the conduct of both Reouf and Suleiman, drew up a list of questions for Reouf to answer, which showed that the Chamber wished to criminate him and to clear Suleiman.

Now, however, the Chamber of Deputies being removed from the horizon, the Government has ordered Suleiman Pasha to be tried by court-martial. Since Reouf Pasha as Minister of War has the duty of appointing the members of the court, Suleiman will be judged by a tribunal composed of his accusers. Meanwhile, in accordance with the Turkish system, Suleiman Pasha is kept in close confinement.

The question of the Circassians nearly disrupted the Chamber of Deputies. The Greek deputies introduced charges of massacre in the region of Vizé—massacres, by the way, of which I have not spoken, because it is utterly impossible to find any man who was a direct witness, or to find any two indirect witnesses who agree within hundreds in telling what actually happened. It is enough to say that the Circassians descended on a number of Greek villages near the Black Sea, and killed, burned, and destroyed. It is said that some people, who took refuge in a cave, were stifled by the Circassians with sulphur fumes. These reports were brought up in the Chamber of Deputies, and at first the Turkish members advanced the plea that, since Circassians are

Moslems, and since such crimes are prohibited by the Koran, the Circassians cannot have done the deed. This proved rather a thin shelter against the lively attack of other deputies, and the Moslem deputies then declared that the authors of the crimes were Bulgarians dressed in Circassian clothes! The Circassians have been thinned out in this city, but are making the roads dangerous in the interior. A curious incident is related *apropos* of Circassian woman-stealing. A Turk was buying two girls of a Circassian in Scutari, the other day, and suspected that the goods were stolen. He informed the police, who tried to communicate with the girls, but could not understand them. The police laid hands on the nearest Bulgarian and brought him forward to determine if the language spoken were Bulgarian, when it turned out that the girls were his own daughters! Of course the girls were saved, but equally, of course, the Circassian got off with a curse or two from the police officer. Every Circassian is related to a woman in some Pasha's harem, or is related to a man who is related to such a woman, and the police have found that it is not safe to be too exacting. There was a sense of the needs of justice in the remark of one of our papers on the discussion in Parliament, the other day: "No matter who the authors of the outrages are, only let them be treated with the severity due the Bulgarians rather than with the mildness due to Circassians."

The Government is at its wit's end about its paper currency. The treasury has about decided to refuse to accept paper money for postage. Some one suggested that such an act would send gold to five hundred, and the answer was that there is no help for it. The post-

office cannot work for nothing, and the treasury must have revenue.

The Turks were never destined to shine as financiers, and the helplessness of their plight, in view of the depreciation of paper, is pitiable. Orders in council do no good. The paper will not retain value. The average Turk ascribes this fact to the wickedness of the Greek or Hebrew stock broker, and calls on the Government to put the price of gold under control of the police. One of the local papers derived much consolation from the fact that the Russians are not going to allow Turkish paper to depreciate beyond a certain point while they have any on hand. Some Russian soldiers captured a lot of one hundred piaster notes at Adrianople, and were so thoughtless of the dignity of the Turkish Empire as to sell them for five piasters in silver apiece. The general commanding is said to have ordered them to sell no longer at that rate. The Turkish public considers this order as an evidence of a friendly desire to maintain the credit of Turkey, and is truly grateful to the Russian who issued it.

The same public is indignant that the English fleet has purchased stores at the Prince's Islands to the amount of $1,500, cash down, in thirty-six hours, thus depriving the inhabitants of the islands of their food supply for one night. It also believes that the true way to injure Russian credit is to burn up five-rouble notes wherever found. The treasury is now being reorganized, and it is to be hoped that it will be put on a common-sense basis. The people are suffering terribly from the follies of the past. There are half-a-dozen different currencies in the land, and any local governor can make laws to suit himself, forbidding the transpor-

tation of currency from one place to another, in order to profit by a temporary rise or fall of the rate of exchange. No one of the currencies is in universal use, and it is the common people who pay the penalty of this state of things. When a loss occurs, it is the peasantry who bear it, and they are becoming more and more wretchedly poor. It has seemed for months that they could reach no lower degree of poverty short of actual starvation, but they manage to live somehow in their present miserable condition. The influx from European Turkey is multiplying the miseries of the people in Asia, since in some way the refugees must be provided for.

Refugees are still coming in. The English compassionate fund is feeding about ten thousand daily. Many diseases have broken out among the refugees. Those who are housed by the compassionate Englishmen foolishly hide their sick—small-pox patients, for instance—among the luggage in the refuges, and thus cause great trouble to the superintendents. In one of the refuges two cases of leprosy were discovered, and sent to other quarters last week.

One cannot help pitying this Turkish population, for they lose all in this migration. The refugees who come in all allege Bulgarian outrages as the reason for abandoning their country. It is even said that the Russians have insisted on the removal from Bulgaria of all Moslems. There would be a precedent for this in the treaty of 1829, when Roumania and Servia were cleared of the Mohammedan population by stipulation, but it is not just that it should be so. The question of reorganization would be vastly simplified by eliminating the Moslem element, but the Moslem peasantry have

a right to the homesteads of their fathers. Moreover, the people thus far driven out are strewing the whole track of their march with their own dead, and the carcases of their lifeless cattle, and the aggregate wrong done is enormous. The European sense of humanity does not seem to take in the sufferings of the Moslems in being forced from house and property. But European sympathy for Christians is a very curious quality. It cannot pass the line of the Bosphorus. There is not so much as a word of comfort for the Christians of Asiatic Turkey in the terms of peace, and, unthought of, they have to bear the burden of a great Moslem population ousted from the home of its fathers by Christians, and now importunate for food and a resting place. The Christians of European Turkey may be freed from the presence of the "unspeakable Turk," but this freedom will be gained at the expense of the equally worthy and far more suffering Christians of Asia. The intervention of Europe lacks real benevolence if it does not devise means of protecting people, Moslems as well as Christians, in all Turkey.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RUSSIANS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *February 27th*, 1877.

THE Russians are very well aware that there is a certain debatable ground, whereon he who dares may walk, between the beginning of dissatisfaction on the part of a neighbor, and the beginning of active resentment. They are now using this fact to the full. They count accurately upon the unwillingness for war which every Power feels, and then they decide the degree of Russian interest which may be safely sought in spite of Europe. The slow and gradual steps by which they have felt their way to the occupation of Constantinople is an example of this. Even Mr. Gladstone was satisfied that the Russians would not occupy the city. He said that the pledges of the Czar would prevent even a promenade through the streets at the end of the war. Yet the occupation of Constantinople is an accomplished fact. The arrival of the English fleet in the Marmora has been made the excuse for an advance of the Russian army to San Stefano. The Russian camp is still at long artillery range from the outermost of the Roman walls, and, technically, the Russians are not in the city. Yet generals are not in the habit of blocking the streets of garrison towns with their lines of battle,

and there is no possible barrier between the Grand Duke's headquarters and the domes and minarets at which his officers so fondly gaze. In four or five hours' time the Russian army might so place itself that all Europe might work for months and fail to oust it. The British lion has roared his best with uplifted head and well-closed eyes. But since the city has been indefensible these three weeks, English, Austrians, Italians, French, or others who feel an interest in this matter would hardly make a *casus belli* of the simple advance of the Russians from one point beyond the walls to another. Thus it has come about that at the Berlin Congress the influential position to which England has aspired in virtue of her ironclads, may be found to be of less account by reason of the unexpected battalions which control the hills above the ironclads.

On Saturday afternoon some of Skobeleff's staff, with a few Cossacks, appeared at San Stefano, and began at once to select houses for the Grand Duke Nicholas and his staff. About 9:30 in the evening the Adrianople train came in with the Grand Duke, his son, and a brilliant suite. At the railway station the Russians were met by the Turkish Minister of War, Reouf Pasha, and Mehmet Ali Pasha, commandant of Constantinople, who were presented to the Grand Duke by the ubiquitous M. Onou, formerly first dragoman of the Russian Legation here. The Grand Duke was very affable, said he had seen Reouf Pasha somewhere before, but could not recall where. He then drove with Mehmet Ali Pasha to his quarters at the Baroutji Bashi's house, opposite to the house where Commodore Porter lived and died. The Grand Duke said to Mehmet Ali Pasha, "We are now intimate friends, and you are at liberty

to go at will to any part of our lines, and I shall be glad to visit Constantinople." They talked French until Mehmet Ali suggested that he was more at home in German. The Grand Duke at once changed to that language with perfect ease. The Grand Duke Nicholas called on the Turkish Governor of San Stefano and gave him instructions about the police of the place, adding fifteen Cossacks to the fifteen Turkish Zabtiés, who were performing police duty. The Turkish Government had agreed that the Grand Duke should occupy San Stefano as his headquarters, and should be permitted to have his own staff and body-guard with him. But during that night and the next morning about 16,000 Russian troops of the guard, with thirty-two pieces of artillery, arrived at San Stefano, under General Skobeleff. General Gourko's forces also approached the city, while the general himself has entered San Stefano. On Sunday there was a review of the troops as they marched in from the Chatalja road, and the Grand Duke published a telegram from the Czar congratulating the army on its successful arrival at Constantinople. The Turks are disgusted at the magnificent "body-guard" brought to San Stefano by the Grand Duke, but can do nothing. San Stefano is about six miles from the old Roman wall of Constantinople, a little village perched on a bluff which hangs over the Sea of Marmora. Here was the famous model farm where the American, Dr. Davis, labored faithfully, but vainly, to introduce agricultural reform under the shadow of the Sultan in 1848–'49. San Stefano is a favorite summer residence for Constantinopolitans, and many live there the whole year, coming daily to the city by railway.

After Reouf Pasha had returned to the city there was a great council of dignitaries, in and out of office, at which he made known what he had learned from the Grand Duke and from Safvet Pasha, the first commissioner for peace. At the council there was some strong language on the subject of the Russian demands, many good resolutions as to the real reforms to be introduced as soon as the war is over, and after all had expressed their views in the solemn and dignified manner of Turkish councils, Saadoullah Bey, the second commissioner, went out to San Stefano, to be present at the final signature of the basis of peace. The paper was to have been signed on Monday the 13th; but, both the day and date being unlucky in Russian tradition, the thing was postponed. There are those who believe that Turkey is refusing to surrender ironclads demanded by Russia, and that the end of the week will see us at war once more.

Meanwhile the railway and steamboat companies are doing their best, and all the world is going to San Stefano; foreigners to look, and natives to spoil the Philistines. The natives find that a two cent orange carried ten miles is worth twenty cents to the Russians; and that the blackish, sourish compound known as bread among the common people, and which sells here for three cents per loaf, rewards enterprise by extracting at least a franc per loaf from the Russians. Thus the Russians are winning that incense of affection which is the grateful portion in this land of every foreigner who is possessed of a specie reserve. The Turkish army lies encamped between San Stefano and the city. The lot of the common soldiers in the two armies is brought into sharp contrast by the trading operations of which I have

spoken. No trader has smiles for the penniless Turkish soldiers, or thinks of them, or looks at them as they sit hungry and desolate by the wayside, wondering at the crowds with bursting panniers who flock over the creek into the camp of the invader.

The people of Constantinople are not yet relieved from their tension. Wild rumors gain best growth at nightfall, and everybody retires in the most excited condition to be calmed in the morning by new explanations. The city is now held in check by a firm hand, which may be that of Ahmed Vefik Pasha, but which bears a strong resemblance to that of the irrepressible Mahmoud Damad, who is again attaining favor in high places. The Government is in a constant agony of fear lest some of the fiery patriots of the city should take up bushwhacking Russian soldiers, and so precipitate that seizure of the city which would force the Sultan to leave. There are plenty of Turks who openly denounce the Sultan as a Russian Giaour; and, although there is no reason to apprehend an outbreak, one cannot help feeling that each day of quiet is more than we could expect. There are fiery bigots here who believe and publicly declare that the Holy Standard ought to be brought out; that the Sultan should give all Islâm the chance of getting to heaven by a short cut, with the alternative of hell in case of disobedience to the summons to the Jihad (holy war). These men are the only really hopeful men one sees. Their only hope is that after peace with Russia they will be able to throw overboard all European inventions and return to the Koran, pure and simple, as the rule of Government. In fact, their hope is to wage successful war against the nineteenth century.

March 2d.—Last night I received an invitation to join a party which had chartered a steam tug and was to go to-day to San Stefano to see the Russian troops. It being reported that the Grand Duke Nicholas would review the forces, a large company of ladies and gentlemen assembled on the tug to see the army that had caused such anxieties to us Constantinopolitans.

The day was perfect. An hour's sail from the Golden Horn brought us to the outermost limit of the Turkish possessions as at present constituted. A carefully arranged camp on a slope near the seaside contained the advanced outpost of the Turkish army. In front of it was a wide green meadow divided by a little stream, and beyond the stream we could catch the glitter of the guns of the Russian pickets as they stood lazily watching the movements of the Turkish troops on the other side of the valley of Aï Mama. Soon we could see tents on the high bluffs back of San Stefano, and in a few minutes more we could see Cossacks hurrying to and fro, detachments of troops marching to the guard mounting, and oddly shaped wagons crawling along the dusty roads with food for the more distant camps.

The landing place at San Stefano was crowded with officers, soldiers, and teamsters; all of whom looked with some curiosity at the party of European ladies thus venturing to enter their lines from the enemy's country. No questions were asked of us, however, and we soon threaded our way among the heaps of military stores which encumbered the wharf, and entered the narrow streets of the village. The curious wagons of the Russian army, with braces fastened to the outside of the axle and to the top of the sideboards, were everywhere; drawn by three horses abreast, and driven by genuine

Russian *moujiks* in sheepskin coats. Generals and staff officers were riding through the streets, and soldiers in great variety of uniform were lounging or strolling about. They seemed to be good-natured, easy-going fellows, and were especially open to the blandishments of the Greek or Jewish peddlers, who offered them embroideries from the Turkish bazars, or bottles of doubtful attar of roses. The officers were relatively in better condition than their men and seemed to be enjoying themselves. The houses seemed to be full of these officers, who have been quartered upon the inhabitants without so much as a "by your leave." A large square building with the Russian Imperial flag in front of it, and with a crowd of general officers on its steps, was pointed out as the headquarters of the Grand Duke Nicholas. General Skobeleff, handsome and jaunty, stood on the porch of this house, and as we turned a corner we came upon General Gourko, older and more careworn than Skobeleff, but hardly less of a dashing hero. How strange it seemed to be breathing an atmosphere of peace in the presence of these two men, who more than any others have contributed to the great upheaval which has for three months almost made life a burden to all dwellers in Constantinople!

There was to be no review to-day, the officers told us. They were glad to see Americans, but were less effusive toward the English members of our party. If we would be so good as to come to-morrow—Sunday—they would be most happy to give us good places to see the review. These officers were extremely kind, and invited us to inspect the camps. They talked freely of their victories and their satisfaction at the result, and they did not hesitate to add that they expected and hoped to

have to beat the English before their return to Russia. It was odd, however, that they said that they considered the Turks as more manly than the Bulgarians, whom they regarded with great contempt. These officers looked as if they had seen service; but they were evidently protected against the accidents of the campaign, wearing coat over coat, the more the better. Many of the officers had over their uniforms and under the uniform overcoat a close-fitting coat of sheepskin with the fleece inside, and the leather colored black and embroidered in silk.

Behind the Grand Duke's headquarters was a large field, which was full of men and horses. They seemed to be waiting for some reason in that treeless waste On going among them, however, we found that we were in a camp of the Cossacks, of the imperial guard. The detachment was established in a very small space, men and horses mingled together in utter confusion. The lances of the Cossacks were stacked in irregular piles here and there. Some of the men had shelter tents, each stretched between two lances, but the most of them were lying in the open air almost under the heels of the horses, upon ground that was sodden with ill-smelling moisture. Saddles, bridles, blankets, and pouches were thrown in untidy heaps here and there; and in the midst of these heaps could be seen protruding large pieces of raw beef, waiting, in such unsavory company, for the attentions of the cook. The horses were miserable-looking beasts, although so renowned for endurance. They had not been disturbed with currycomb or brush for many a day, and we were fain to admit that the mud of their shaggy legs might easily be the mud of the Danube.

The men were hard at work preparing for the review

of to-morrow. Those who had stripped off their coats were brilliant as woodpeckers, in exceedingly gorgeous waistcoats of scarlet. They were sewing and darning, or laboriously blackening the leather of their accouterments with soot, which they had mixed with water in their soup-kettles. Others were carefully whitening the worsted braid of their saddle-cloths with whitewash, carefully applied with feather or tooth-brush. Others were entertaining visitors, making all needful exchange of compliments by means of pantomime. Some Persians, in their peculiar high caps of black lamb's wool, were strolling through this curious camp, and were evidently uncertain as to the use of the long red-hafted lances. A good-natured Cossack seeing this, gave a sort of a grunt to call their attention, and, taking up a lance, placed it in rest, and made as if spearing an imaginary enemy, at the same time saying, "Turcko! Ha-a-a!" The admirable simulation of satisfied ferocity which the Cossack at the same time threw into his face made every one laugh. But all were obliged to reflect that the question of laughing when in the company of Cossacks depends very much upon which end of the lance is toward you.

As we left the Cossack encampment, a company of infantry marched past. The men were slovenly in dress, but had a quick, sharp step, which was refreshing to behold after seeing the slouching shuffle of the ordinary Turkish troops.

The infantry camps were a little more clean than the bivouac of the Cossacks. But they were no whit more orderly. The tents were entirely without symmetry of arrangement, and they were huddled so closely together that there was barely room to walk between them. The

officers do not encamp with their men, being assigned quarters in surrounding houses. There was no sign of a camp guard, and the men seemed to come and go as they liked. Here, too, the men were busy with their preparations for the review, or were singing, or playing cards. Peddlers innumerable overran all the camps. A very strange sight, to one accustomed to the discipline of the United States army, was the whiskey peddlers, circulating freely among the men. These men carried a demijohn, or a simple junk bottle in one hand, and a small glass in the other, and passed through the streets shouting "Vodka," in tones which brought them plenty of customers.

The vicinity of the Russian camps was excessively filthy. The soldiers made no difficulty about filling their canteens from foul pools along the railway embankment, near which were ancient carcases of cattle and horses. If the Russians suffer from sickness, the fault is their own. With a wide stretch of good camping-ground, they have crowded their men in comfortless camps, and, with thousands of men lying idle, they have not found force enough to bury the dead beasts that are scattered over the whole country. The observations which we were able to make in our hasty visit revealed no differences between the Russian and the Turkish soldiery sufficiently striking to account for the victory of one over the other. The Russian soldiers whom we saw are no more intelligent, and certainly no more athletic in appearance than similar classes of Turkish soldiers. The Turks have better rifles than the Russians. But the Russians have better officers beyond all comparison. It is the lack of brains in high quarters which has ruined the Turkish army.

The Turks are constantly showing their habit of making superficial copies of the features of European civilization, and considering these the real basis of European power. They have copied from Europe laws, courts, and schools. But the laws do not protect, the courts do not mete justice, and the schools do not educate. So the Turks are ready to say that European civilization is a sham, and that their only safety lies in guarding their country against it. On my way home from San Stefano I encountered, on one of the Bosphorus steamers, an old Turk who favored me with his views on the European system of education as practiced in Turkish Government schools. Said he, "I was always a thoughtful child, eager to learn, and if I had gone to one of the schools of the Softas I might have become a great teacher. But I wasted ten years of my life in one of the Government High Schools. In consequence of this, I know nothing. What is the use of a High School? It teaches nothing that people want to know. For instance, in a High School they teach botany. They spend weeks in explaining to a young man that a rose is a rose. What earthly use is that to any one? If a man knows a rose when he sees it, he knows it without having learned it in a book. If he does not know that it is a rose, no book will ever make him care to know what it is. High Schools never did good to anybody in this country!"

The Turk was partly right. As in everything else so in education, the methods adopted by the Turks are mere apish imitations of what is found in Europe, and always remain unmeaning forms of exercise, a weariness to both teacher and scholar.

March 4th.—The Russian army at San Stefano was

reviewed yesterday by the Grand Duke Nicholas. The negotiations for the treaty of peace have been prolonged from time to time in order to have the signature of the treaty coincide with this review. Both the treaty and the review were thus made to do honor to the day, which was the anniversary of the accession of the Czar. The Turkish delegates heard General Ignatief read over the treaty for the last time, and then affixed to it their signatures. General Ignatief then seized the precious document and drove to the review ground where the troops were purposely detained for a grand dramatic stroke. Ignatief hastened to give the treaty into the hands of the Grand Duke Nicholas, who, with well-simulated surprise and joy, rode toward the troops, waving his hat and shouting, "My children! We have concluded peace under the walls of Constantinople!"

It was a supreme moment of triumph for the Russian army. The men shouted, the priests chanted a Te Deum, and the officers shook hands and embraced each other. But art was a little too apparent in the preparation of this little drama. The joy of triumph had already been discounted. The scene at the review was after all little more than a formal and official consecration of what had days before been experienced by the troops.

The Turks are extremely sore over this treaty. Not only does it bind them in hopeless vassalage to Russia, expanding to the utmost limit the conditions of the armistice; in every paragraph it reminds them of their ineffectual objections, and of their acceptance of obnoxious propositions as gracious gifts. The treaty is to them, in fact, a monument of utter humiliation. The treaty of San Stefano, by extending the Slavic Principal-

ity of Montenegro on the one hand to the Adriatic, and, on the other hand, far into Herzegovina; by enlarging the Slavic Principality of Servia so as to envelop large Mohammedan districts, and so as to bring its frontier within artillery range of the only Turkish road into Bosnia; by creating a Slavic Principality of Bulgaria, with frontiers which include great tracts of Moslem and Albanian territory, and which are interposed between Constantinople and all the European territories of the Sultan, ensures the domination of Slavic influence over all neighboring provinces left in the hands of the Sultan. It ensures that this Slavic influence shall be Russian influence, by providing a Russian control over the organization of Bulgaria, and a prolonged Russian occupation of the principality; while, by placing upon Turkey a war indemnity so enormous as to condemn the empire to the payment of an annual tribute of indefinite duration, it ensures the subjection of the Sultan to the behests of the Russo-Slavic masters of the Balkan peninsula. The terms of the treaty of peace seem hard enough for the Turks, and yet they are but a repetition of a situation which has already occurred in history. In 1829 the Czar had occasion to express his belief that it would not be well to utterly destroy the Ottoman Empire, because of the difficulty of substituting any power on the Bosphorus which would so well subserve Russian political and commercial interests as Turkey under Russian dictation. He therefore caused the war indemnity to be left to his own generosity by treaty, and then fixed it at $25,000,000, to be paid in ten years, the Russian army remaining in a decreasing degree in occupation of European Turkey, until the whole was paid. It was supposed that this

treaty would establish the Turkish vassalage. It led, in fact, three years later, to the friendly Russian occupation of the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, and to the famous treaty of Hunkiar, which established an offensive and defensive alliance between Russia and Turkey. But European jealousy of Russia restored the independence of Turkey then, and may again do so if the Sultan is left in Constantinople. For, as Lord Derby says, the Eastern question is Constantinople, not Turkey. These are momentous days, not only for Sultan and pashas, but for people of this country, whose lot is now to be fixed for another quarter of a century, and for Europe, which believes the lost key to the problem of a permanent peace to be within these old walls.

The negotiations which resulted in this treaty were a farce. Instead of negotiations between the parties there was haughty demand by the conqueror, and helpless acquiescence by the conquered. At the outset the Turks begged for a copy of the proposed treaty, in order that they might study it. The Russians refused. As each article was successively brought forward the astonished Turkish Commissioners prayed for time to make some examination of it. The Russians refused; the examination must be made at once and on the spot. When the new frontiers for Montenegro were proposed the Turks asked leave to ascertain whether all the territory named was, as alleged, in the hands of the Montenegrins. The Russians refused. So in regard to the territory represented by the Russian map as peopled by Bulgarians. The Turkish Commissioners desired to verify the statement in order to protect the rights accorded to them by the preliminaries signed at Adrianople. But the Russians utterly refused to allow any

such investigations. Again and again they used threats. Sometimes they declared that they would negotiate no longer, and left the hall in a passion. Sometimes they declared that if a given clause was not instantly accepted, the Grand Duke would occupy Constantinople. By such means the Turks were held in uneasy suspense, and forced to accept proposals which were often undebated, often unwarranted, and always unexpected. At the very last moment, after the Turks had accepted the whole treaty, the Russians brought forward a demand, backed by the usual threat of an attack on Constantinople, that Turkey should agree to vote with Russia in support of the treaty at the approaching Congress of the Powers. The Turks refused to promise this, and the Russians finally withdrew the demand. Almost the only points upon which the Russians yielded to Turkish objections were the amount of the war indemnity, and the question of the great highway into Bosnia. This highway was ceded to Servia on the first map prepared by the Russians; but, with a strip of land six miles wide, was finally restored to Turkey at the earnest request of the Turkish Commissioners. In view of these circumstances of the negotiations at San Stefano, it is not strange that the Turkish Government already resents their treaty. The question what Europe will do about the treaty is quite another question. The treaty of San Stefano is only a preliminary treaty, and must sooner or later be submitted to the approval of the Powers which signed the treaty of Paris in 1856.

General Grant arrived in town last Friday, and to-day met a large number of Americans and other foreign residents at a reception given in his honor

by Mr. Maynard, the minister resident of the United States.

April 5th.—During a whole month events have been transpiring which are of critical importance to the Turks and all sojourners in the Turkish Empire. But I have been prevented from noting them, having been detained in my bed by an attack of confluent small-pox. I mention this circumstance because it illustrates the inconvenience of living at this time "under the shadow of the Sultan." The small-pox was communicated to me by some among the multitudes of refugees who throng the streets, and who never take precautions against disseminating the diseases from which they suffer.

General Grant completed his Eastern trip with a week's stay at Constantinople, and departed for Italy. His arrival here was at an unhappy moment. The treaty of peace was not yet signed, and the Russian army was still a threatening nightmare to the ministers of the Government.

The General was treated with respect, was carried about the city in one of the Sultan's own carriages, attended by out-riders in the Sultan's own livery of green and gold. But his welcome lacked the effusiveness which American residents here might wish. Aside from the anxieties which occupied the minds of the ministers at that time, one cause for the absence of enthusiasm in the attentions paid to General Grant is the inability of the Turk to regard a retired ruler as of great importance. Turks cannot understand how a man may be an ex-president without a humiliation which is a degradation. They can comprehend how a ruler may be kicked out, like poor Abd ul Aziz. But that General Grant, after having had in his hands the presidency of the

United States, should voluntarily and honorably surrender his vast power, is one of those unintelligible freaks of Christian civilization which are the despair of Turkish thinkers.

Three weeks after the signature of the treaty of San Stefano Osman Pasha of Plevna arrived in this city. It is difficult for a foreigner to realize the enthusiasm of the common people for this man. Besides their admiration for the general whose fame rang through Europe for weeks, they have a holy veneration for the soldier who caused the death of many thousands of infidels, and this view of the case is often expressed. Even in print it has been hinted at as "the eminent service rendered the faith." The ovation given by the people to the returned prisoner was immense. All day Sunday crowds of men, women, and children waited on the streets through which he might be expected to pass in the city. But the steamer from Odessa did not arrive until five o'clock in the evening, and Osman did not go to Stamboul at all until the next day, so that the multitudes were disappointed. Royal caiques took Osman Pasha and Reouf Pasha, minister of war, from the steamer to the palace steps; and there a crowd fell upon the hero, kissing his hands, the skirt of his coat, and even his feet. The Sultan was in the upper palace of Yildiz, and the road was thronged, so that, as the *Basiret* expressed it, a seed pearl could not have fallen to the ground between the people. I was not present at the interview between Osman Pasha and the Sultan, nor have I been able to verify the account of the interview given by the Turkish papers *Basiret* and *Vakit*, from which I derive my narrative. I should add that I think it just as well that I have not had the means of verifying the story; other-

wise some interesting particulars might have to be omitted. Osman Pasha, according to these papers, was taken from the carriage directly to the presence of the Sultan. The Sultan, as soon as he saw him, said, "Come, my conquering hero! You have developed the full powers of Ottoman soldiers, and have made good our military renown. I have vowed before God that if permitted to see you I would kiss your eyes. Let me fulfill my vow." So saying, the eyes of the Ghazi were each kissed by the royal lips. Then Osman Pasha, perfectly overcome by this proof of regard from his sovereign, fell on his face, while his tears, as large as pomegranate grains, literally washed those blessed feet. Then Osman Pasha said, "My lord and king, I have desired to live that I might put my face and eyes in the dust of the imperial feet, and God has now granted my desire." The Sultan then placed on Osman's breast, with his own hand, the military medal, and gave him a gold-hilted sword, which has long lain in the treasury collection, and is known as the "Ghazi." By this time dinner was ready, and Osman Pasha, with Tevfik Pasha, his chief of staff—who is known as the little hero of Plevna—sat down to partake of food from the royal table. At last, at nearly ten o'clock, Osman Pasha was permitted to leave the palace, and he hurried straight to Bebek, where his wife and children were staying, at the house of a relative. The next day Osman Pasha was put in a court carriage and driven from the palace to the War Department, in Stamboul, through five miles of densely crowded streets, all nationalities turning out to do him honor. It was a royal welcome. At the War Department several battalions of troops were drawn up to salute him, and all the generals in town gathered

about him to bid him welcome. At the very time of this ovation in honor of Osman, in an upper room of the same war office buildings, was that other Turkish general, whose name first became prominent last July and August—Suleiman Pasha. He has been for six weeks under close arrest, awaiting his trial. He is treated almost as if already condemned. A sharper contrast than that afforded by these two careers is not often seen.

After a parley which has lasted for weeks, and whose sole purpose was the settlement of the formalities of the visit, the Grand Duke Nicholas last week made his call on the Sultan.

For some time it has been stated in official circles that the Sultan has been compelled to defer the pleasure of an interview with the Grand Duke on account of a severe and persistent neuralgia.

His Majesty's neuralgia departed by the time the difficulties of the parley had been solved. The first proposal of the Russians was that the Grand Duke, attended by two hundred of his officers, should ride in state through the city to the palace, and that the Sultan should, in return, visit the Grand Duke at San Stefano. This, however, smacked quite too much for Turkish susceptibilities of a triumphal march of the conqueror and a lowly homage of the conquered. The actual occurrence, after the parley, was that the Grand Duke went by sea to the Sultan's palace, and after the audience crossed the Bosphorus to the Sultan's Beylerbey palace, which had been placed at his disposal. Half an hour later the Sultan appeared there, to return the visit of the Grand Duke. Immediately after the Sultan's departure, the Grand Duke incontinently abandoned his gorgeous quarters at Beylerbey, and slept on

his yacht. As a coda to this farce of interchange of civilities, the Sultan has decorated Generals Gourko, Skobeleff, and others who contributed to the annihilation of his armies in Roumelia.

The Turkish Government is engaged on all sides with schemes for reorganization. Rigid economy is the principle to rule hereafter. But the Government is learning once more how little can be done in any such undertaking with a vast body of civil servants who are utterly opposed to reform, and even to honesty. An example of this difficulty is in the new bread tax. The rumored tax on bread has become a fact. Every loaf (two and three-quarter pounds) pays a tax of two cents, and the Government is jubilant over the result. The wretched day laborers are not so jubilant, however, since before the imposition of the tax bread was already six piasters the loaf. The object of this terrible tax is the redemption of the paper currency. The tax is collected on the flour bought by bakers, and the decree provides that the tax-collector shall destroy before the eyes of the purchaser of flour the Sultan's seal on the paper money paid for the tax. It turns out, however, that some tax-collectors do not do this, but simply put the money in their pocket, and there end the matter; while others, for a consideration, omit to collect the tax at all, letting a man use the same tax receipt over and over again. Thus it may easily come to pass, that, after weeks of suffering, the poor people who have paid the money may learn that no progress at all toward redemption has been made. It is now proposed to tax meat, also, in order to hasten the withdrawal of the paper money. As meat is considered a luxury in Turkey, such a tax would not be so oppressive as that on bread.

If Europe was really honest in the wish for the welfare of the subject races of Turkey, a stable and final arrangement might soon be made. The insincerity of the European Powers is now thrown into relief since the question of the amelioration of the condition of the Eastern Christians is shelved before the more mighty question of territory and the balance of power. Everybody knows that the Eastern question has survived only because the European Governments could not agree about this balance of power. Yet once more Europe has accepted discord for purely selfish reasons, and it has done this knowing that this course will ruin the wretched Christians of European Turkey, and once more prevent any permanent settlement of the Eastern question. The Turks are quite passive, and for the first time in history they are unable to reap any benefit from the quarrels of their neighbors. All eyes are directed to the West, watching for the next turn of the dice. Every hint of that which is to be throws the city into a fever, to judge from the terrible leaps made by the price of gold. Ten or twenty piasters per day up or down is a common response to the news from the West, bringing dismay to all traders, who suffer pangs every day until they learn the closing price of gold. Although we watch the Western skies for our storms there is a certain sense of insecurity here as well. Who knows but we shall yet find our houses in the line of fire between two armies, for neither of which we care in the least? The streets are full of Russian officers in full uniform, and perfectly at home. The Livadia, the yacht of the Grand Duke Nicholas, is established in the harbor, and the Grand Duke himself finds the Russian palace in Pera a most comfortable

residence, so that although in theory he lives on the yacht, the headquarters of the Russian army have practically been transferred from San Stefano to Constantinople itself. At San Stefano and vicinity are the great camps of the waiting army; all precautions are used as if in the presence of the enemy, not the least of the duties of the sentries being to report every steamer seen coming from the Gulf of Nicomedia. On the other hand there are the great English ironclads lying at Nicomedia. They, too, observe the vigilance common in war time. Every night the gulf is dotted with steam launches on guard, full of men armed to the teeth, and the caution used against torpedo attacks is as if one was hourly expected. But this is not all. The fleet does not content itself with a campaign on the sea: Nicomedia is patrolled by English marines. This state of affairs raises fearful visions in the minds of the timid. In case of a war Russia would have all that part of the great city which lies on the European shore of the Bosphorus. But England will send ironclads to keep the Russians from crossing, while Nicomedia, held by English marines, will be the landing-place for the English troops, who will seize the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus. Then the war may have to be fought out by artillery duels across our beautiful strait. Verily, the timid have fair field to make hair-raising pictures of the terrible possibilities of an Anglo-Russian war.

Whatever the relations between the English and the Russians, the shopkeepers of this country regard both Russian and Englishman with great admiration. The shops are blossoming out with promises of linguistic accomplishments in both English and Russian. On every hand we hear the touters hailing "John," and

"Bratoushka;" the newsboys calling "*Times*," "*Daily News*," and "*Odessaski Telegraphe*." The Galata provision dealers are, nevertheless, in hot water with the Russian commissariat. The commissariat deals with a firm of contractors. The contractors bought on credit of the provision dealers here. After incurring an indebtedness of about $2,500,000, the contractors became involved in a quarrel with the commissariat, and their contract was broken. Then the Galata dealers had to see their hopes of vast profits become thin and feeble. They anxiously ask for their money, and the answer of the Russians is, "When the commissariat pays us." There are no courts to compel payment. The beauty of the "capitulations" in force here is, that they may protect foreigners not only from unjust but from just claims.

The real difficulty with the settlement of these claims is, that they cover large frauds upon the Russian Government. Contracts for army supplies have been granted, upon condition that the invoices shall charge from thirty per cent. to forty per cent. more than the sums which are to be paid the contractors. The difference between the amounts paid by the Russian Government and the amounts paid to the contractors forms a neat little benefice for division among the army officers concerned in making the contracts. Many high officials have been concerned in this system of peculation, which began with the outbreak of the war. The Russian Government has now heard of the frauds, and has now refused to pay for any more contractors' invoices until time has been taken to verify them.*

* The investigations of the Russian Government have since resulted in exposing immense frauds, implicating very many army officers. The disgrace in 1880 of the Grand Duke Nicholas is attributed to his participation in these great frauds of the Turkish war.

It is refreshing to note that, even in this semi-barbarous land, men have a soft place for children in their hearts. Two small boys living in Pera disappeared the other day, and their parents, as well as everybody else, supposed that they had been kidnapped by Circassians. But, on the third day, they returned to their households, and this is their strange story: They wanted to see the Russian soldiers, and went to the Gálata bridge, and boarded the first steamer they saw, to go to San Stefano. Such boys pay no fare on the steamers, and no one spoke to them. They landed with the crowd, and wandered about on shore, seeking Russians, but finding none. At last they found that they were not at San Stefano, but at Kadikeuy, on the Asiatic shore. Then came tears and a pitying crowd, until some one took them to his home for the night. Next morning they were sent back to the bridge. The little scamps were, however, undaunted in the pursuit of Russians, and, asking their way, found the San Stefano steamer, on which they went to the great encampment. They had their fill of wonder until nightfall, and then—another cry on the streets, another pitying crowd, and a good-natured Russian took them to his quarters, and next morning saw them aboard the Constantinople steamer, with a rouble apiece in their pockets. Now these small boys had no sooner reached Galata bridge again than they resolved to explore the upper Bosphorus, since they were now supplied with cash for candy and other necessaries of life. Another steamer took them to Buyukdere in two hours, and here, just as they landed, big-eyed, and completely under the influence of the demon of travel, a friend of the family chanced to see them, and led them ignominiously home. They will

ever be monuments of the special Providence that thwarts the madness of children.

Two English steamers have lately been sunk in the Bosphorus, by coming in collision with Turkish ships of war. In the first case both the English and Turkish steamers were at anchor. The Englishman, having forty-five fathoms of cable out, swung around and drifted upon the ram of the Turkish ironclad, sinking very shortly. In the other case, the English steamer, loaded with grain, was just leaving the Bosphorus, when she was carried by the current broadside upon the bow of an old wooden frigate, which was lying at anchor. The Turkish ship lost her bowsprit, but the English steamer had her side stove in and had barely time to get into shoal water when she sank. The cause of these accidents is not the narrowness of the channel so much as ignorance of the mighty currents of the Bosphorus. There is food for reflection in the fact that these English grain steamers, built of iron throughout, crumple up like pasteboard upon contact with other ships at anchor.

April 16th.—The filthy habits and the crowded condition of the refugees have been turning this city into a vast pest-house. In view of this fact the Government has undertaken to send away the refugees. The minister of police doubtless received orders in council to execute this measure, and he has begun the work in a thoroughly characteristic manner. Without making arrangements with other departments of administration, consulting as to the means of providing for the people on arrival at their destination, or even fixing the troublesome details of their embarkation, he transmitted to his subordinates the order to send away

the refugees. The subordinate officers duly transmitted the order as received. Every arrangement for the embarkation was thus left to the discretion of patrolmen, and every circumstance of the condition of the people on arrival at their destination, to luck.

The discretion of a Turkish police patrolman is very small. Hence the refugees have been bundled into steamers, without food or traveling equipment, and the steamers have discharged the miserable crowd upon some convenient seacoast town, where, because no provision has been made to receive them, they are tenfold more miserable than before. Furthermore, in loading up the steamers, the police have been known to seize any chance passers in the street, and to drive them without mercy into the ships. No man or woman dressed in the costume of the villages is safe for a moment in the vicinity of a refugee steamer. The people have, therefore, signed a monster petition to the Sultan, setting forth these facts, and pointing out that many die of starvation after being landed from the steamers; and that husbands are torn from their wives and wives from husbands, children from parents, and parents from children, through the summary method of selection adopted by the police. The petitioners then beg to be allowed to remain in Constantinople under the shadow of the Sultan, until they can be restored in peace to their homes in Bulgaria.

The case is hard, for the houses of these people have been looted by the Bulgarians or have been carried off bodily by the Russian troops to serve for firewood. But we shall surely have a pestilence here unless something is done with these wretched people. All the relief commissions in the country cannot prevent their

living crowded and in filth. The streets of the city are in a horrible condition, since the Government has no funds to spare for such trifles as street cleaning. In Pera, the European quarter of the city, there is a special form of municipality government, elected by the residents and supported by special taxes. Such taxes are willingly paid by the foreign population for the sake of having well-paved and well-swept streets. But the Government in its straits has seized the funds of the Pera municipality, and, even in that district, the scavengers no longer make their rounds. The refugees have been cleared out from St. Sophia, where they were so crowded that an epidemic of malignant typhus was raging among them. Men were hired to sweep out this magnificent mosque after the departure of the refugees, and they nearly all took the fever, in several cases with fatal result. This proof of the deadly character of the infection quite paralyzed the Government. Now, however, on the advice of physicians, the Turks are applying carbolic acid to the whole interior surface of the building. Fire-engines are brought up to the windows, and the disinfectant is thrown into the mosque by this means. All the other great mosques are to be cleared and cleansed in the same manner, after which the doors will be closed for two or three weeks. It is supposed that by that time the deadly atmosphere will be dispelled so that workmen can enter and complete the cleansing. But what a story this tells of the condition of the people who have for three months lived in these mosques!

April 22d.—Reports have been widely circulated in Europe of a secret alliance between Turkey and Russia. These reports have grown out of a real tendency

in that direction among the Turks. There has always been a pro-Russian party among the Turks, and this party has been strengthened by the course of English diplomacy during the war. In addition to this circumstance, the Grand Duke Nicholas seems to have fascinated the Sultan, who desires to grant anything asked by his "friend." Indeed, if Abd ul Hamid had his own way, the Turkish ironclads might, by this time, have been in Russian hands. But even a Sultan may not in all things do as he wishes. After his first private talk with the Grand Duke, an angry prime minister appeared on the scene, with rebukes for the breach of etiquette which admitted the Grand Duke to the imperial presence, without the intermediation of the ministry. Ahmed Vefik Pasha, therefore, resigned. The Sultan was not willing to have the difficulty of the situation increased by a ministerial crisis, and begged him to withdraw his resignation. This Ahmed Vefik Pasha would not do for some days, remaining at his house "indisposed." At last, he was induced to resume the seals. But there are always men who are scheming for the downfall of a prime minister, and the week of uncertainty had given opportunity to some such men to form a plot against Ahmed Vefik Pasha. This plot only waited for the Sultan's adhesion, until some one could be found willing to be prime minister, with the risk of political decapitation after two or three months. The man was found, and, last Tuesday, the very innocent-looking announcement was made, that the Sultan wished to profit at this troubled time by the wisdom of Mehmed Rushdi Pasha, and had therefore appointed him to the cabinet as minister without portfolio. Those who knew that Mehmed Rushdi is an enemy of Ahmed

Vefik saw that a change was impending, with which the old gentleman was to be connected.

Meantime, the Russians supported the plans of the schemers, by making a demand for an exposition of Turkish policy, which would bind the Porte in case of war between England and Russia. The answer of Ahmed Vefik Pasha was not very clear, and the Russians suspected him as well as Said Pasha, Minister of Marine, of being strongly under British influence. Hence, a new demand, as the story goes, was sent in by the Grand Duke for a positive answer within twenty-four hours. If a satisfactory statement of intentions was not given by the Porte, the Grand Duke would be forced to protect the interests of his army. What the interests of his army would demand was delicately hinted by the advance of the Russian left wing to the wooded heights above Buyukdere, whence a run down hill of half an hour or so would take the troops into the main European defenses of the Bosphorus.

The Turks, pushed to the wall, made a clean sweep of the old set of officials. On Wednesday, the 17th, Ahmed Vefik Pasha went as usual to the palace and conversed with the Sultan, and afterward presided at the cabinet council at the Porte. On Thursday morning the papers contained paragraphs, saying that the rumors of an impending change of the ministry were false. But at two o'clock that same afternoon a regiment of troops formed line at the foot of the great street that leads to the Porte. Soon boats from the palace appeared with a new official, in the uniform of an aide of the Sultan, accompanied by Sadik Pasha, and Ahmed Muhtar Bey, of the white-turbaned gentry. A procession was quickly formed, which proceeded to the

Porte, and there the new Chief Secretary of the Sultan read the imperial decree, which makes no mention of the fallen minister, but appoints Sadik Pasha Prime Minister, and Ahmed Muhtar Bey Sheikh ul Islam.

The change of ministry almost amounts to a revolution, for it embraces an entire change of the Sultan's own household. All the unwholesome group which has been associated in the "ring" with Mahmoud Damad, and which has been a part of every back-stairs palace intrigue of Abd ul Hamid's reign, is swept away. Whether the new men are any better is doubtful, but it is a comfort to see the old ones brought to account.

Sadik Pasha, the new Prime Minister, is a man who has always been passionately fond of France and French life. In younger days he once remarked that he would rather live in Paris than be Grand Vezir of Turkey. He is an energetic, busy man, has literary tastes, and knows French well. He was summoned by Mithad Pasha from the embassy at Paris to govern Danubian Bulgaria, just before the war, and at the same time that Bulgaria below the Balkans was confided to Ali Pasha, another super-civilized member of the new ministry. These two pashas were expected to conciliate the Bulgarians, and to answer in the eyes of Europe instead of the Christian governors suggested by the Conference. Ali Pasha held his place at Adrianople until he found the popular thirst for blood too strong for him. Sadik Pasha early found the governing of his province too much for him since Mithad had been banished, and the whole policy of the Government had been changed before he reached his post. He came away from Ruschuk invalided, and has since lived in retirement, until Ahmed Vefik Pasha gave him charge over the custom

houses. During his retirement he has studied English and can speak it a little. He is affable, but has a reputation for great promptitude and punctuality. For a wonder, although a Turk, he generally keeps his word in money transactions, and pays punctually when he has promised to do so.

Against the probability of any real advantage to the country from this change is the fact that the new ministers are not new officials; they belong to the class of professional Government officers which seems to be inherently incapable of justice or righteousness. This incompetence and corruption of the Turkish official class seems to date back to the foundation of the empire. It is so obnoxious to the common people, and involves a conspicuous lack of moral sense so contrary to principles which exist among Turks outside of this class, that I am sometimes tempted to think the characteristics of the officials have been borrowed from the Byzantines as necessary qualifications for office. When the Turks conquered Constantinople, the Byzantine Empire was to them the only exponent of high civilization. The Turks themselves were rude nomads, shepherds and the sons of shepherds. They wished to set up a court in due conformity to the usages of the rest of the world, and they appear to have set themselves to copy Byzantine usages.

The Turks are faithful copyists, and one still has opportunities of noticing in this city the results of their imitation of the Byzantines. The plan of the old palace of the Sultan is copied from the palace of the Constantines, with its triple courts containing detached buildings devoted to the military, diplomatic, and household relations of the chief of the state. The

resplendent dresses, enormous fan-shaped plumes, and silver battle-axes of the guard which attends the Sultan on special state occasion, are copied from the uniform of the Varangian guards of the Byzantine emperors. So also in various matters of administration. The usages which group people of each separate nationality in distinct quarters of the city, which free from taxation the inhabitants of Constantinople, which exempt foreigners from subjection to the laws of the land, all have a precedent in the usages of the Byzantine Empire, and were probably copied from that empire by the Sultan who followed the Constantines.

The adoption by the Turks of the Byzantine Empire as their model of true greatness would insure the perpetuation among the Turkish official class of principles of government which ruled Constantinople five hundred years ago, when the Byzantine court was a hot-bed of seething corruption. The Turkish official class, as a rule, regards peculation, bribery, perjury, and oppression of the weak as the inalienable privilege of official position. This idea has been handed down like the regulations of etiquette through centuries of hereditary tradition. No amount of proof will convince the intellects of many of these officials that tradition is wrong. They believe these corruptions to be throughout the world the attributes of power and the characteristic rights of office.

The Turkish official class being largely permeated with this belief there is no great reason to expect advantage to the country from the recent sweeping changes. Nevertheless by putting new and unprejudiced men in the more important offices, the Turks are enabled to declare perfect neutrality on the questions

now at issue between Russia and England. They have thus escaped from the necessity of making the declaration of policy demanded by the Grand Duke. Their course on this occasion is but a lesser copy of the master stroke by which, in 1876, Mithad Pasha, leading popular excitement against Sultan Abd ul Aziz to the point of deposing him at the right moment, checked Russia, and caused her to protect the Berlin memorandum, which, on the very day of the revolution, she would otherwise have presented, as an ultimatum. The change of ministry under these circumstances throws no light upon the ultimate policy of the Turkish Government. The change is acceptable to the pro-English party among the pashas, because it seems to hold Russia a little at a distance, and it is acceptable to the pro-Russian party because neutrality on the part of Turkey is all that Russia would ask. In a war between England and Russia, a true neutrality on the part of Turkey, by barring the Straits against the English ironclads, would protect the whole southern coast of Russia from attack. It would thus be entirely compatible with a secret alliance between Turkey and Russia. The policy of the new ministry is thus left to be a fresh source of contention between these two parties.

There is no doubt that Lord Salisbury's recent note on the treaty of San Stefano at first greatly pleased the Turkish Government. The tide of official opinion turned strongly in favor of England, because the note was so sharp a condemnation of the terrible treaty. On second reading, however, the officials of the Porte were not so sure of England's repentance. Although there is plenty of hostility to Russia in the note, there is no favor to Turkey, no gain for the long-buffeted Caliph

of Islam. The kernel to the English objection to the treaty is that the "Government of Constantinople" is too weak to assure the independence of the Straits and of the Suez Canal. While harping on this point, Lord Salisbury forgets to use the convenient phrase, "the integrity of the Turkish empire." This omission leaves the Turks just where the Russians have left them. It also permits the meditative soul to suppose that England might accept a compromise which would assure the independence of the Straits and the Canal; but which would entirely set aside the Turkish Government as too weak for the responsibilities of its territorial position. Therefore there is a falling off of numbers among the officials who still advocate alliance with England.

Among the people the pro-Russian party is making capital out of the evils which England has brought upon the land. Russians have often said that England might have spared Turkey much loss, but for the advice given the Sultan by English representatives. This idea has been caught up by the common people, who also charge to English duplicity their losses through the depreciation of Turkish bonds. The other day a man told me that some years ago he had invested in Turkish six per cents. all of his property, including the proceeds of the sale of a house which had brought him in a good rental. He bought his bonds at fifty-two of an English banker in Galata. Now the bonds are worth only eight. The man now abuses the English for having sold such worthless bonds to the hard-working people of this country!

On the other hand a Turkish alliance with Russia would, at the best, be but half-hearted. Among the soldiers and the common people, hatred of Russia is bred in the bone, and the results of the war have not been

such as to weaken the passion. The term applied to the Russians is dog, and when you overhear people talking about the great increase in the number of the "dogs," you must translate the phrase accordingly. Osman Pasha, Muhtar Pasha, and other prominent military men, are strongly anti-Russian. The alliance may be possible, but in case of war between Russia and England, the main advantage which Russia would gain by it would be possession of strategic points, as the Straits. The Turkish army would rally to an English call for a Turkish contingent under English officers.

So far as the sentiment of the country is concerned we have then in Turkey a divided upper class, a small pro-Russian middle class, and a large anti-Russian lower class of people. The key to the enigma of the Turkish policy probably is the lack of a policy. The highest in the land are in as much of a quandary from day to day as to that which ought to be, as the rest of the world is as to that which will be done.

Meantime the Russians evidently desire to avoid new complications with England. The left wing of their army has been swung forward until it occupies hills above Buyukdere, which look down upon the Bosphorus. But aside from this movement there is little to excite remark in their policy. Two weeks ago a large number of Bulgarians came to San Stefano, elected by the various towns to make a national address of thanks to the Grand Duke, and perhaps to engage in more serious business as the representatives of the Bulgarian people. For it is rumored that they are instructed to elect a prince. They have all been ordered by the Russians to say nothing of the object of their coming together, and the Grand Duke, evidently afraid of unfavorable criticism

in Europe, has avoided them. Day after day they have applied for an audience, and day after day, the Grand Duke has been sick, or busy, or summoned to some other part of the country.

It was only this week that he regained his health sufficiently to be able to receive those delegates. And when he did receive them he disappointed them by saying nothing about the serious business which they expected to have had before them. But the Grand Duke gave them some very good advice. He told them that the war is now over, and that they must not continue to fight the Turkish race. Bygones must be bygones, and all thoughts of revenge must be set aside. He especially charged the clergy to enforce this duty upon the people. This advice was needed, for there is a tendency among all Bulgarians to use the very opposite policy. Some of their people have suffered at the hands of Turks things hard to forget, and do not at all approve of the injunctions of the Grand Duke. One of these delegates declares that one thousand six hundred Bulgarians were hung by the Turkish authorities in the single district of Selimnia (Sliven) in the last five months of 1877. This district lies under the Balkans, north of Adrianople, and well out of the way of travellers, consuls, and such like. The Turks were thus free to do their will. Still one thousand six hundred men hung is an almost incredible number. The Grand Duke is evidently a man who understands politics. Many of the delegates who waited upon him were dressed in broadcloth and wore silk hats. There were also several sturdy countrymen dressed in jackets and bag trousers of coarse homespun. The Grand Duke paid no attention to the broadcloth and fine hats, but signalled out

all the delegates in homespun and had a kindly word for each.

The typhus fever is raging in Erzroom, and has decimated the Russian army in that vicinity. Among its victims in the city of Erzroom is Miss Nicholson, the American missionary lady before referred to. She has been unceasing in her efforts to diminish the sufferings of the poorer classes in all the terrible privations of the last six months. She has gone from house to house distributing aid, visiting the sick and cheering by her presence the despairing people. Exhausted by overwork she contracted the fever and fell an easy victim. Her life was sacrificed to her duty. History may not record her name, but a great city will long mourn her loss.

May 9th.—The reorganization of government in Bulgaria plunges the Russians into difficulty at every step. The population is in no respect homogeneous. This aspect of the situation is the most dangerous one. If Russia has another war before her, this loose-jointed, overgrown, new Bulgaria may at any moment fly to pieces. So the whole effort of the Russians is directed to the work of gaining a hold upon all the various peoples. The Bulgarians must be reined in without alienating them, the Greeks humored, the Turks protected, and all classes justly governed.

But the Turks upon the border land of the territories now in occupation by the Russians are making resistance to the proposed extension of the Russian lines. An insurrection against the Russians has broken out among the Moslems of the mountainous district south of Philippopolis, and no Russian force has yet penetrated the hostile passes of the Rhodope. The Grand

Duke Nicholas has begged the Turks to send officers to these mountaineers in order to quiet them, but the Turks reply that the insurgents or "people of the movement," as they call them, are not willing to take orders from the Sultan. This statement must be taken with some reserve, for many Turks rejoice to see this mountain population in active war with the Russians. The rebels are armed with Martini-Henry rifles, and possess four cannon which they claim to have picked up in January after the flight of Suleiman Pasha's army. They seem to have plenty of ammunition, and keep the whole region in an uproar by their raids upon outposts and open villages. The real feeling of the Turks toward the mountaineers of the Rhodope is shown by the approval of the movement that is given by the city press. Although these papers are under rigid censorship, they publish appeals from the insurgents for aid, and urge contributions for their assistance. An extract from the Turkish newspaper *Vakit* will show the sentiment of the people. It said last week:

"The despairing resort to arms which has been forced upon these people is the result of oppressions that fall with increasing weight upon all the people, except Bulgarians, who live within the Russian lines. Information received concerning the outrages suffered by the Moslems of the Balkans describes a condition of affairs which no one who has faith, or conscience, or fear of God, can approve, imagine, or endure. We refrain on this account from particularizing, and only state that the property and the honor of the people of that region are the sport of the Bulgarians. Of course the Russian Government does not approve of outrages to which no untamed savage would stoop. Nevertheless some of

the Russian officials are so far concerned in these crimes that they have taken Moslem girls to live in their own tents. The people, who see no other means of protection, are forced to protect themselves and to take vengeance upon the wretches who have wronged them."

The stories which circulate among the Turks in reference to outrages by the Bulgarians may be very much exaggerated. Yet enough of truth is known to show that vengeance upon the Turks is the uppermost feeling in the hearts of the Bulgarians, and that, when Turks who are guilty are not at hand, this vengeance wreaks itself upon any Turkish farmer who may chance in the way. This fact is so well known, that the Grand Duke Nicholas has announced to the refugees here who desire to return to their homes, that, while he will guarantee their safety in all places where Russian soldiers are stationed, he cannot protect them in towns or villages where the Bulgarians are left to themselves. Such a situation shows that it will be long before the new Bulgaria will be at peace, unless all residents, except Bulgarians, can be removed from its limits. The Greeks of Bulgaria also complain of ill-treatment quite as loudly as do the Turks. They further declare that their nationality is being denied. The Russians are making a census of races in Bulgaria, and the Greeks complain that the officials will not admit the validity of a permanent blood line. A man may be a Greek and the son of a Greek, may speak only Greek, and belong to the Greek Church ; yet if the family has lived three generations within the limits assigned by the treaty of San Stefano to Bulgaria, there is no help for it. That family must go on the register as Bulgarians.

Furthermore, all the people seem to have awaked to the fact that the time for a general settlement of old scores has come, and they have revived all their ancient quarrels among themselves. The officials are over-whelmed with the law cases brought before them. The presence of a Christian judge acts upon these people like the presence of a physician in a village. Every one fancies he has some ailment, and among them all the old complicated cases which have been given up in despair come to light again. The Russians refuse to examine any lawsuit which had origin before the 1st of January of this year. Such affairs must await the formation of regular courts. There are enough new quarrels to keep every one busy.

The situation of the Russians in Bulgaria is rendered infinitely more delicate by the quarrel between the Greek and Bulgarian Churches. Both have the same doctrines, and practically the same ritual, and both are in communion with the Russian State Church. The Bulgarians, once independent, have been under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople for many years. In 1870, by General Ignatief's labors, the Bulgarians were set off under a separate hierarchy. For this the Bulgarians are styled schismatics by the Greek Patriarch. If the Russians give too much favor to the Greek Church, the Bulgarians will resent it. If they favor the Bulgarian Church, the Greeks hint that they might be led to declare all Russia schismatic. This is no light threat, for the Patriarch of Constantinople holds in direct and unbroken succession from the bishops of Constantinople of fifteen hundred years ago. The Russians find that the attempt to conciliate both parties is like walking among eggs.

Probably it is with a view to avoid the offense which a member of the Russian Church might easily give to one or the other party to this church quarrel, that the Czar has appointed a Protestant officer Governor of Adrianople. Among the Bulgarians of Sliven, Yamboli Bazarjik, Yeni Zagra, and other places where the Mission of the American Board has had its stations, Protestants have been selected for important local offices, perhaps for the same reason. At Adrianople there was great rivalry between the Greeks and the Bulgarians for control of the presidency of the Provincial Council of the Province. The knotty question was referred to the Grand Duke Nicholas, to decide which should have the office. The Grand Duke replied, "Neither—let an Armenian be appointed." And an Armenian it is who presides in that august body.

As an illustration of the state of the Greek Church in this country, may be mentioned in this connection a little occurrence which took place the other day in a Greek village, about twenty miles from our city. The priests had long been vainly endeavoring to extract from their people the funds necessary for the refit of their church. The people, ignorant peasants, were deaf to the appeals of the clergy. At length, on one of the numerous feast days of the Greek Church, a miracle occurred at this particular place. Three men in the throng which filled the church, who were well known to be stone deaf, suddenly declared that they could hear. Moreover, they could hear better than people who had never been deaf. They could hear what no one else could hear—a voice like thunder urging the provision of an altar-cloth for the church. This was evidently a miracle indeed, and the priests made good use of it,

quickly collecting from the delighted congregation a liberal supply of cash. But, after an hour or two, a new miracle was announced. The three deaf men had once more become deaf as posts. The people received this news with consternation, and now pray that future miracles may be simple, and not complex.

The low moral character of the Christians of Turkey is a feature of their case which must necessarily cause innumerable difficulties to those who have to organize them for self-government. An example of this class of difficulties has lately occurred at Rodosto on the Sea of Marmora. The Russian Government of the place wished delegates from the different nationalities for some council. The Greek bishop selected to represent the Greeks two men who had been convicted of fraud by a Russian court-martial. The Governor refused to accept the men as delegates, and wrote a sharp note censuring the bishop for the choice. Straightway the bishop complained to the Patriarch at Constantinople, and there was an official visit to General Todleben, remonstrances, explanations and much indignation on the part of the local Greek press. The occurrence reminds me of a somewhat less serious incident of the same order which came under my own notice. The scarcity of flour has been such in this city that the export of bread has been prohibited. An Armenian bread man lusting for roubles loaded up a boat with a ton or so of bread, and started to go in the night by sea to San Stefano. He had hoped to dodge the Turkish patrol, but was boarded by an officer, revolver in hand, who formally seized the load of bread. The bread man offered the officer a twenty piaster note. The officer refused it, and swore a great oath that he would not let the bread

go except over his dead body. This convinced the bread man that he had made a mistake. He then offered the officer a fifty piaster note. The officer intimated that he could not say what might have been had the fifty been offered first. He had, however, incautiously sworn an oath not to let the boat go, and his conscience would not allow him to break his oath. The bread man had often sold bread to Turks to be crumbled over the head of some street dog. He knew that this process was held to release the breaker of bread from some oath. So he bowed his head and told the Turk to crumble a loaf of bread above it. The Turk said, "Well done, dog," took the fifty-piaster note and departed, leaving the wily bread man free access to San Stefano. Now it happened that the upper third of the bread, as it lay in the boat, was fresh and good, but the lower two-thirds was stale. The Russian Commissary came and inspected the bread, bought it at a good price, and sent a detail to unload the boat. The stale bread was soon uncovered and the commissary demanded explanations. The bread man used the tactics which had served so well on the other side of the line. He offered the Russian officer a couple of roubles to pass the stale bread. The next instant he was sprawling on the ground, and when he got up, went down again, and finally was chased into his boat with a Cossack whiplash playing about his ears. The bread man returned to Constantinople a wiser man, and ever since has been preaching fierce war on the cruel and brutal Russians.

May 20th.—About noon to-day a rattling sound of musketry was heard in the direction of the Bosphorus, and soon a great stir and movement of officials on the streets showed that something serious was happening.

News soon came that an attack of some kind had been made upon the palace at Cheragan, on the Bosphorus. This palace is supposed to be the residence of the ex-Sultan Murad. The object of the attack is supposed to have been the release of Murad and his reinstatement on the throne. The affair was over in an hour. Ali Suavi Effendi, late director of the imperial college in Pera, and the leader of the attack on the palace, was killed, with some forty or fifty of his followers, by the palace guard. All is now quiet, but the Sultan has had Murad removed to a place near his own residence at Yildiz Kiosk, on the top of the hill above Cheragan.

This affair affords food for reflection on the dangerous character of this long period of waiting between war and peace. The band which followed Ali Suavi in his foolish attempt was composed of refugees, of whom there are many thousands in the city ready, because of their misery, to undertake any desperate enterprise. They are hungry and must have bread. The foreign soup kitchens and relief societies are closing up their work, and the only remedy which the Government can devise for the miseries of the refugees is to ship them to some other part of the empire where they will be out of sight but not out of suffering. Two thousand of these poor creatures were lately taken by a government steamer to Fener Baghché, a barren point on the Sea of Marmora, where they were left four days without food or shelter. After many of them had died from want, their condition attracted the attention of Europeans living near by at Kadikeuy; and the wretches were made comfortable at an expense of somewhere near a thousand dollars subscribed by charitable people. Then only did the Government take steps to have them sup-

plied with the bread ration which is doled out to all refugees in the city. Many of the refugees are taking to highway robbery and it is as much as a man's life is worth to venture three miles from the city in any direction. The refugees shoot their victims from a distance, and then come up to see what plunder chance has given to them.

Ali Suavi, the leader of this outbreak, was a born adventurer. During the reign of Abd ul Aziz he was banished for his liberal sentiments. He was a man of learning and went to London, where he established a Turkish newspaper, with the purpose of instructing the people of Turkey in ideas of liberty. His paper had considerable acceptance in this country, for Ali Suavi was in high repute among the Moslems as a religious teacher.

While in London Ali Suavi took up gambling as a means of support; but on one occasion, after losing very heavily, he gave his check to the winner, and then telegraphed to the bank annulling the check. Having done this he sat down, in his usual spirits, to supper with his opponent at the card-table. The trick was shortly discovered, and London became too warm a residence for Ali Suavi. He fled to Paris, where he continued his revolutionary papers, issuing among other documents a sentence of death against Ali Pasha, then Grand Vezir of Turkey. Upon the fall of Abd ul Aziz, Ali Suavi returned to Constantinople. Notwithstanding his disreputable past, he was received with high honor, and ultimately became director of the imperial college. A short time ago the Sultan dismissed him for some official looseness. In revenge Ali Suavi determined to dethrone the Sultan, and met his miserable end on the steps of the palace.

The whole story of this man illustrates the lack of moral sense, which is characteristic of Turkish officials, permitting a member of their ranks to be a gambler and a swindler, and at the same time to be respected as a teacher of religion, and honored as a member of the highest social circles.

May 30th.—Arrests were made throughout last week until some sixty persons had been arrested for complicity in the attempted insurrection. These persons were mainly among the middle class. One was a pasha of whom no one ever heard—nor will again. The people arrested were marched to the palace under a heavily armed guard of two soldiers to each prisoner. After several days of examination before a commission, the prisoners were removed, last Sunday, to the War Department, where they are to be tried for their lives by a court-martial. Not that there is any appreciable difference between the court-civil and the court-martial in Turkey. The rule in each is to bring a man in guilty unless a person of influence wishes him acquitted.

In the case of those arrested as chief conspirators in this attempt to free Murad, they were taken before the Sultan in person before being ordered to the War Department. During the night after the outbreak there was a great movement in the harbor, and seamen on shore were not allowed to take boats to return to their ships until nearly dawn. About midnight I heard very plainly four volleys of musketry, which have not been satisfactorily explained. The next morning the city was full of rumors that another attempt had been made to force the palace gates. What I heard was not at all the rattling sound of file-firing, but regular volleys of platoon. I am inclined to believe that during that night

some persons connected with this affair were put where they will make no more disturbance. A shower of decorations has fallen upon all officers engaged in suppressing the outbreak. Private soldiers who were on guard that day at the palace received a royal largess of fifty dollars each, and the wounded soldiers were comforted with two hundred and fifty dollars apiece.

This outbreak has had a very great effect on the people and on the palace. The people have been led to reflect that the only fault of the conspirators was that they had no better organization. As to the Sultan he is more than ever absorbed in anxiety about his personal safety. This feeling has been increased by the occurrence of many fires in the city, and by the burning of the Sublime Porte itself. By ancient usage discontent among the people of Constantinople is manifested by incendiary fires. There is but one man upon whom majesty can lean in such an emergency. That man is Mahmoud Damad Pasha the imperial brother-in-law. There seems to be a most fatal fascination about that mystic tie. So Mahmoud Damad has once more joined the cabinet as minister of war. Upon the re-elevation of Mahmoud Damad to power a general howl arose. Not only army and navy, but the civil population and the Softas hate that man with a supreme hatred. He is an arbitrary ruler, and moreover the people believe him to be engrossed with the pursuit of the main chance. Upon the unconcealed displeasure of the people at this appointment Mehmed Rushdi Pasha was made Prime Minister. Mehmed Rushdi is very old and feeble, but his mind is yet clear, and he has a high reputation for honesty. The people call him "Baba," or, as Americans might say, Dad. The old gentleman was Grand Vezir when Abd

ul Aziz was deposed. He quietly refused to serve as Prime Minister. The officer is really Grand Vezir, and Rushdi Pasha insisted on calling things by their right names. Accordingly the firman which appointed Rushdi Pasha to office abolished the title of Prime Minister and restored the office of Grand Vezir. Sadik Pasha was presiding at a council when the change was made. He resigned the seals, and that council broke up with an unfinished debate on its hands. Sadik Pasha became Prime Minister just six weeks ago.

The burning of the Porte was probably an incendiary fire kindled as a sign of discontent. The building was a somewhat imposing structure when viewed from a distance; but, on entering the building at either of the doors on the front, you were speedily disabused of any respect for the place. The filthy wooden stairways and the rough, uncarpeted corridors were the stairways and corridors of an ill-kept poorhouse. They were always thronged with a rabble. Foreigners and natives, high and low, rich and poor, had perfect freedom of access. Rows of women squatted on their heels here and there, lawyers and clients spread out documents on the floor to study them, office-seekers buttonholed the servants of the great men whom they would reach, and with a great price bought rights of first access. The offices were fitted up in an increasing scale of expensiveness, but without taste. There was hardly a table in the whole building. Men sat in wide-bottomed, upholstered arm-chairs, wrote official dispatches, using the palm of the left hand for a rest for the paper. So thoroughly has the imprint of nomadic customs remained on the Turkish people that the papers of the departments are kept in leathern cases or portmanteaus,

ready for instant flight. There are no pigeon-holes, and instead of saying a petition is pigeon-holed the Turks say it is "bagged."

The ex-Sultan Murad continues to be under watch and care of his brother in the grounds of Yildiz Kiosk. The Sultan has never liked to live in the great palace of Dolmabaghché, which fronts you as you approach the harbor from the Marmora. He has always lived at the villa of Yildiz, on the top of the hill above Beshiktash. From this villa to the Bosphorus the whole slope of the ridge is occupied by extensive grounds, which are wooded, and contain roads, lakes, grottoes, small pleasure-houses, grassy lawns, and gems of flower-gardens. In one of the pleasure-houses, shut in by trees, Murad is now the "guest of the Sultan." A hundred yards away from his house is a close cordon of soldiers, who have tents pitched at regular intervals in a great circle, and who would not hesitate to make away with Murad, upon the slightest serious attempt of the people to rescue him. This fact is a most potent influence against an outbreak looking to his restoration. If it were not for this the diplomatists of Europe might find that while they are debating the means of solving the Eastern question the question was solved. Much has been said in two years about disintegration of the Turkish Empire. Now for the first time are we able to see in Constantinople signs of an imminent disorganization of the body politic. The people of Constantinople are becoming discontented to the point of violence, but they have no cohesion among themselves. There is no policy involved. The political question is simply the question of ending intolerable pains. For attaining this result a thousand remedies are proposed, and there

exist political parties ready to surrender the inheritance of the Caliphs to Russia, to England, to Europe in general, to a new Turkish dynasty, to a council of administration. If a serious attempt were to be made to put Murad on the throne again it would let loose the possessors of all these political panaceas, with considerable prospect that the Russians would be on hand to restore order and to reap the fruits of interference in behalf of the public weal. In view of such possibilities the Russians are keenly sensitive to every wind that blows from Constantinople. Their army is once more changing its quarters for sanitary reasons. The hope of finding a perfect camping ground seems to lure it on like an ignis fatuus, for every good sanitary situation is nearer Constantinople than the last. If the slightest disturbance occurs in the city the army will be upon us.

June 7th.—When ministerial changes occur every week the excuse for them ceases to be a question of grave interest. The only interest attaching to such changes belongs to the proof of disorganization which they afford. A similar interest attaches to the fierce grumblings of the people, the muttering of the soldiers, the almost daily occurrence of incendiary fires. They are all signs of disorganization. On Saturday a pickpocket was chased through the great Bazar, and this rush of a score of men threw whole streets of shopkeepers into terrible fear. They put up their shutters and scrambled upon the roofs, took refuge behind the barred doors of Hans, or fled wildly toward Galata bridge. This was a sign of disorganization. So was the action of the police in arresting every man who shut up his shop on this occasion.

It became evident by Saturday that some satisfaction must be given to the people or they would give desperate signs of their temper. The appointment as Grand Vezir of Mehmed Rushdi Pasha was no compensation for the restoration to power of Mahmoud Damad Pasha. Everybody knows that if the Damad is in a cabinet he rules it. It has been rumored that the old gentleman who has been Grand Vezir at two depositions already was preparing to depose a third Sultan. However this may be, so soon as it was seen that Damad could not be retained in office, Mehmed Rushdi was also shipped. A servant of the palace came and took the seals from him while he was in council, just as the seals had been taken the week before from Sadik. Then, just at sunset, came the Firman ordering that Safvet Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, be Grand Vezir and Mustafa Pasha be Minister of War in the room of Mahmoud Damad. Safvet Pasha is the sixth Grand Vezir of this year, and the sixth month is not yet half gone. As soon as the fear which led to his appointment has passed it is almost certain that some equally transitory emotion will lead to the nomination of his successor. A gentleman of rank, of clear vision and sound political sense said to me yesterday that the only hope for this country would be in the appearance of some man of almost superhuman energy. He should seize the reins of power, and by just rule weld the discordant elements of the population into a strong nation. True, but who can be found? Not Mithad Pasha. He is too much feared by the Christians, and too much distrusted in Europe for such a work. Not Vefik Pasha. He has no magnetism wherewith to rule men. Not Osman Pasha. Besides being a soldier, he

is too thorough a Turk to rise to the height of the crisis and yield equality to Giaours. The development of such a man out of the Turkish system would be a miracle.

The situation seems quite hopeless. By the time the congress has disposed of European Turkey, it may be forced to provide a ruler for Asiatic Turkey. The war has stopped, but the work of disruption goes on. The rulers of Turkey would be only too glad could they restore the degree of confidence which they felt at the time that the treaty of San Stefano was signed. Now the control of the country is slipping away from them. Provincial governors obey orders from Constantinople when they choose. When they disobey, they feel safe in the belief that before machinery can be set in motion to punish them, a change of ministry will free them from any obligation to meet the charge. There are signs that Syria may drop off from the empire, and that the shipment of Circassians to that unhappy province will hasten this consummation. Egypt is ready to strike for independence when the day comes. In Asia Minor, Circassians rove on the roads, seizing cattle and money, and laying villages under contribution. Men who have no ready money have to give notes. It is beyond the power of a Turkish court to stay execution of the note which a Circassian robber has wrested from a Christian merchant.

Circassian robberies, Government demands, and official extortions make up a sad budget of grievances for the people. But Government can do nothing for them. It has sent messengers through the country ordering the people to be patient until the crisis here is passed. Meanwhile it has sent to all newspapers here a savage

warning to cease publishing accounts of malfeasance in office, or of outrages by Kourds and Circassians. Hereafter the editor who speaks of such things will be suppressed with his paper, if he dare to speak on evidence which the Government shall choose to refuse to consider good.

It is a pity that Asiatic Turkey should be left to go a-begging for an appreciative master. It is customary to speak of it as a sort of limbo to which Turks may be safely and justly relegated. This is a fallacy in every way. Europe will not have got rid of the necessity of supervision over Turks after they are shipped to Asia. Asiatic Turkey is a country which the world cannot afford to give over to mismanagement. It has the scenery of Switzerland, the baths and mineral waters of Germany, and a climate and soil of which the farmer may demand anything. Cotton grows in Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Arabia. Rice grows in every part of the lowlands of Turkey. Tobacco of fine quality is found everywhere. Silk is produced in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and North Syria. Coffee, gums, and spices grow in Arabia. Olives give a great oil trade to Syria and Western Asia Minor. The vineyards of every part of the country, with skilled labor, could rival those of France. The plains of Asia Minor and Armenia are yellow with grain, which is raised so easily that it pays farmers to give one-half of their crops for transporting the remainder to the sea-coast. The mountains are the summer pasturage of vast flocks of sheep whose wool is a valuable export. In Armenia and Central Asia Minor are mines of silver and copper. Iron and coal skirt the coast of the Black Sea. Deposits of glass-sand, of emery, of meerschaum, mines of manganese, of lead and

copper, await enterprise and capital. The territory remaining to the Turkish empire, aside from the detached provinces of Egypt, Tripoli, and Tunis, supports 20,000,000 of people. If the Turkish system were capable of growth, the Sultan might yet flourish and wax mighty in ruling over the domains of Haroun al Raschid. As it is, the rich heritage waits to fall a prize into hands that can provide labor and wit to make it renew the traditions of the days of Crœsus.

Crops are very abundant this year throughout the country, but farmers are hampered by the loss of stock from disease and by impressment. Grasshoppers have appeared in some places in Asia Minor, but the Government has organized the people into bands—the priests to pray for the departure of the plague, and the laymen to catch the grasshoppers.

Contrary to expectation, the rose crop at Kezanlik, in Bulgaria, will be gathered and distilled as usual this year. The rose gardens were trampled down during the war, and the population disappeared. The Bulgarian part of the population has, however, returned, and are ready for business. Some inconvenience may be experienced from the loss of stills, and some from the lack of fuel, which it was impossible to provide during the war, and which it is difficult to provide now owing to the lack of oxen. As the Turkish part of the population is largely absent, there may also be some loss from a lack of hands. These are the main causes operating to diminish the yield of oil. Yet the yield will hardly fall below two hundred thousand musçals. In favor of a good yield is the weather. The season is just commencing with fairly cool weather. A small crop with cool weather may produce more attar of

roses than a large crop with hot weather. The reason of this is, that the blooms must be gathered each morning before they are fully opened, and before the sun is hot, for the sun evaporates the fine oil secreted by the petals. Hot weather develops the blooms so rapidly that hands cannot be found to gather them in time, and the season sometimes ends in two weeks, with but half of the roses used. In cold weather the season often holds for as much as four weeks, and every rose is saved.

The sudden downfall of the Grand Vezir, Mehmed Rushdi Pasha, is not by any means an event unparalleled in Turkish history. The vicissitudes of the pashas, as shown in the records of the Grand Vezirs of Turkey, is not the least curious part of the story of the archives. The term of office of Rushdi Pasha—one week—is the shortest on record save one. In that case a Grand Vezir held office but four hours after the inaugural ceremony. But this was in the palmy days of Mahomet IV. The predecessor of this short-lived dignitary had been appointed by the Sultan, but a mob of Janissaries prevented his taking his seat at all. After the Vezir of four hours came one who ruled for six weeks. The longest recorded service as Grand Vezir was that of Halil Pasha, appointed by Murad II., and killed by Mahomet II., after twenty-five years of continuous administration of the affairs of the empire. The records show that twenty-six Grand Vezirs have been executed while in office. Besides these officially recognized executions, many Grand Vezirs have "died" in office. This expression, when used in connection with a Turkish official, may signify a good deal. Apoplexy is a disease which was formerly epidemic with Grand Vezirs. The word

damla, used by the Turks for apoplexy, is also the word commonly used for drops. Hence, when a Grand Vezir is said to have died of *damla*, uncharitable minds are at liberty to suspect that he died of poisonous drops, administered by hostile hands.

June 13th.—The Congress of the Powers, which is to reconstruct Turkey, assembles to-day at Berlin. Petitions against the various provisions of the treaty of San Stefano are flowing thick and fast toward that city. The Armenians, the Greeks, the Moslems of Bulgaria and Macedonia, are all sending up their petitions to the Congress. Even the Laz, the people who inhabit the mountainous region back of Batoum, on the Black Sea, are sending telegrams to beseech the Congress to save them from annexation to Russia.

The Armenians are the descendants of a very ancient people. Their nation is the only nation of Asiatic origin which has adopted Christianity as a national religion. According to their own traditions, they are the descendants of that part of the family of Noah which remained and settled, after the Flood, in those mountains of Ararat that received the ark. Consequently they generally believe that their language is the identical language spoken by Noah before the confusion of tongues. The language being abundant in gutturals, is on that account unpleasant to European ears. Indeed, one must rejoice in the confusion of Babel, if that alone saved us all from bondage to such vocalization. Be this as it may, the Armenian nation has an authentic history reaching back to the sixth century before Christ. The last of its kings reigned in the Taurus mountains until the fourteenth century of our era.

Armenia is so situated that it has been trampled and devastated in all the great movements of the races of Western Asia, while its population has literally been scattered to the ends of the earth. Eastern conquerors took back with them numbers of Armenians, so that colonies of them are found in India. As late as the time of the crusades western conquerors carried them to Europe, and small detached groups of Armenians are found in several European cities. There are now possibly two million of these people in the whole Turkish empire. During fifteen hundred years of adversity they have clung to their peculiar forms of the Christian religion, and through all vicissitudes they have preserved their separate race characteristics.

The Armenians, therefore, have a history which inspires in them patriotic fervor, while they have a certain sturdiness of character which promises some day to develop useful results from their patriotism.

In personal appearance the Armenians are often pleasing. A slightly Jewish character of nose may sometimes seem a blemish. Otherwise the countenance, although dark in complexion, would not suggest the Asiatic origin of the race. Their women are often decidedly beautiful.

The Armenians have a large ancient literature and a growing school of modern writers. In mind they are quick, and show a capacity for rapid development. In business they are celebrated as shrewd bargainers, and they are as thrifty as the Yankees of the hill towns of New England. Being Asiatics, they have more than any other Christian race in Turkey the confidence of the Turks; while as Christians they are eager to receive and adopt the results of Christian civilization. This

peculiar combination of characteristics implies that the influence of the Armenians may one day be of importance in civilizing the Turks.

At present the Armenians as a race are morally no better than the other Christians of Turkey. Having no large ideas of right, truth, and justice; often degrading themselves by falsehood, fraud, and thievishness, they are not, except in capacity for improvement, above the more honorable of Moslems. This moral degradation is due to the fact that their religious teachers have preferred to instruct the people in numberless superstitious forms and ceremonies rather than to lead them into lives of noble and manly morality. The religion of the Armenians, a form of Christianity peculiar to their own race, while branded as heretical by both Greeks and Roman Catholics, is more nearly allied to the faith of the Greek Church than to that of the Roman Catholics. The head of the Armenian Church in Turkey, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, is treated with great consideration by the Turkish Government. The Armenian Church, more than either the Greek or the Roman Church, allows to its members freedom of independent thought. This freedom of the Armenian people has afforded room for the success among them of American missionaries. These missionaries have erected evangelical churches among them; have fostered a strong desire for educational advantages, manifested by the appearance of large numbers of Armenian schools; and have created a taste for reading which affords a steady demand for newspapers and books.

Outnumbered by their Moslem neighbors, far removed from the benevolent observation of Europe, the Armenians are subject to all manner of petty oppressions, and

often suffer great outrages at the hands of the Turks. A book might be filled in a very short time with the instances of wrong suffered by the Armenians, which are narrated in the course of ordinary correspondence with persons residing in different parts of Asia Minor. In Armenia the Turks permit the Kourds to lay imposts upon Armenian villages, to seize flocks and herds, or to destroy farms. As an instance of the petty oppressions which Armenians have to suffer at the hands of Turkish officials, an incident may be narrated which is just reported from Broosa, a city about seventy miles from Constantinople. Two days ago a Circassian went to the shop of an Armenian jeweler, offering for sale some silver plate, which he had brought from the wars. Since Turkish law legitimates the sale of plunder by a Bashi Bozouk, the Armenian bought and paid for these goods. The Circassian had hardly left with his money when a second Circassian, perhaps a confederate of the first, came to the jeweler and demanded the plate as having been stolen from him. The Armenian refused to give up the silver, but in a trice had his head laid open by the Circassian's long cutlass. The police then interfered, heard the story, arrested the Circassian, and took the Armenian to the hospital. The next day, however, the Circassian was released because the wounded Armenian did not appear to enter complaint against him, while the Armenian was taken, helpless as he was, to prison because the Circassian charged him with robbery. There was no redress for this outrage. The friends of the jeweler asked the Governor General to interfere, but he declared that since Europe has been insisting on protection for Christians, the courts have been set free from any control of provincial governors.

If the Armenians were a little farther developed in manly qualities, the oppressions which they suffer would be unbearable. As it is, one cannot but wish success to their efforts to secure attention to their case, on the part of the Congress of Berlin. There is no valid reason why the Armenians should fail to receive the attention of Europe, although they live beyond the magic line which separates Europe from Asia.

If European intervention is to be limited to a part of Turkey, because the rest of the empire is set down in the geographies as outside of Europe, it will accomplish no permanent work of reconstruction. Turkey in Asia is as truly within the atmosphere of Europe as is Turkey in Europe. The geographies do not allude to the fact, but the whole trade and all the most important relations of Asiatic Turkey are with Europe. The country has an enormous seaboard. That part of it which lies west of the Euphrates is almost an island, and is made so by European seas. While European commerce fills the many harbors of Asiatic Turkey, and while the most distant of these harbors is within a week's sail of any one of the ports of Southern Europe, it must be quite as impossible for Europe to avoid interest in the state of the Christians of Turkey, after Turkey has been relegated to Asia, as it now is when Turkey stands upon the two continents.

Many writers upon the Eastern question have hoped that the question can be settled if the Turks can but be driven from Europe. This hope is based on the darkness of ignorance. The expulsion of the Turks from Europe could, at its best result, settle the question only so far as Turkey in Europe is concerned. The same oppression and the same misrule would continue to

burden Christians upon the other side of the Bosphorus. The Bosphorus is not wide enough to prevent suffering among the Christians of Asiatic Turkey from exciting sympathetic attacks upon the Moslem power which abuses them. While the situation and relations of Asiatic Turkey are what they are, such attacks cannot occur without disastrous effects upon the peace of Europe. The cry for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe is not only impracticable, it is mischievous. It withdraws attention from the truly radical treatment of this subject which the interests of Europe require. A radical remedy for the ills of the whole population of Turkey, demanded by the interests of humanity and by the necessities of Europe, is the subject to the consideration of which the appeal of the Armenians invites the Congress of Berlin.

In European Turkey, both Greeks and Turks are collecting masses of documents which are intended to prove the Bulgarians unworthy to rule. The Bulgarians have played directly into the hands of their enemies by real misconduct, which is often defended by their intelligent men. They have an ancient war with the Turks, and a new war with the Greeks. So both Turks and Greeks are maltreated whenever it can be safely done.

A short time ago two Bulgarian gentlemen were sent by the Exarch to represent the desires of the Bulgarian people at the various legations. Their hope was to secure a good word from the legations here which would weigh at the Congress. The Russian ambassador told them frankly that he could do nothing for them. Every mail was bringing new accounts of outrages by Bulgarians, and his colleagues here were constantly call-

ing his attention to misdeeds which he could not deny. The Austrian ambassador declined to have anything to do with them. The English ambassador gave them an effusive welcome, entertained them with stories of Bulgarian outrages on the poor Turks, and then invited them to call again. The Italian ambassador bowed them out with the promise that he would mention their call in his next dispatch to his Government. The only real encouragement these gentlemen received in the whole round was from the French ambassador, who declined to see them, but was sufficiently moved by their statements to his secretary, to make inquiries in various quarters concerning them and their story, the next day.

The cool reception of these Bulgarian emissaries shows how far their people have lost the warm sympathy lavished upon them before the war. Their real misconduct and the super-imposed charges of other evil deeds have cost the Bulgarians this sympathy. Even their own race, who do not belong to the national church, have been in some places attacked by the Bulgarians. In a village near Yamboul, about ten days ago, the Bulgarians made a concerted attack on the Protestant Bulgarians of the place. The pretext for this attack seemed to be, that, now the Russians have come, the Bulgarians are going to live as a "Christian people," and will not allow persons who use the Bible to live among them. They stripped the clothes from one woman of sixty, and led her through the streets. A young woman they stripped, and then beat her so as to endanger her life. A man they stripped, and took him out to hang him; but he escaped to a piece of woods and eluded their search until night, and then

got away entirely, The rest of the Protestants of that village took the hint, and fled to Adrianople for protection. Of course they will be protected and restored to their homes by the Russians.

Meanwhile, this and every similar statement goes to increase the proofs of Bulgarian ignorance and injustice, collected by the Greeks and Turks in their efforts to have the Bulgaria of the treaty of San Stefano reduced in its proportions.

All the Greek papers and all the Turkish papers of this city overflow with statements which somehow get up to the embassies in consular reports, and are of a very harrowing description. The Greeks are moving heaven and earth to secure their ends in this political campaign. They control the press, being employed by correspondents as interpreters, and they have understrappers in almost all the foreign legations. More than this, they have the advantage of prestige. And they are not altogether scrupulous in their methods. Marauders in the regions east of the Maritza River, and south of Adrianople, have been making havoc among the peaceful farmers in the rear of the Russian army. Greek papers have been loud in denouncing these marauders as Bulgarians. They have wept over the Turkish families broken up, farms destroyed, villages desolated. Ten days ago the Russian cavalry dropped down on these marauders, and lo! the leaders and the larger part of the followers were Greek brigands, and not Bulgarians.

Of course, one is tempted to condemn the Bulgarians on observing the total failure which they seem to have made as their own masters. It is constantly repeated that the Greeks are a far more hopeful class of the

population of Roumelia. This is superficial judgment. The Turks have failed, so have the Bulgarians, so would the Greeks of this country if similarly placed. The trouble with all these people is that they lack ideas of right and truth, of a manliness due to moral strength—ideas necessarily associated with Christian civilization in the West. They are not fit for self-government yet; but will be if they can be developed. What they need is encouragement to grow, with a strong discipline while the process is incomplete. Ultimately, I doubt not, the solidity of the Bulgarian character will be quite as valuable to this part of the world as the brilliant fickleness of the Greek. For the present, if Europe selects either race and sets it up to rule over the others, it will inevitably regret its choice. It must devise some means of blending races, since they are living in close relations with each other.

It is idle to forecast the disposition which the Congress of Berlin will make of all these burning questions. The path of Russia is not all smooth, even if England leaves her alone, and Austria concludes to say nothing. The Russians are everywhere, but everywhere the people are doing a great deal of thinking about one central point—how to be rid of Russians and Russian control. Servia, Montenegro, Roumania—all owe their freedom to the Czar, and yet all are fretting more and more under the burden of the Czar's requests. Bulgaria has no sooner got the promise of a prince who shall be elected by the people, than all the leading men are putting their heads together to defeat the Russian candidate, and to elect one who shall not be amenable to Russian influence. Even in the Dobruja, newly acquired by Russia—the flat land of the flat-faced Tartars

—there is more or less ferment. In the cities of that region are Greeks, Bulgarians, Turks, Jews and immigrated Russians. Every one of these various races hates the Russian administration and Russian officials only less than they hate each other. Many Englishmen have grieved because their Government has not acquired some influence among the peoples of the Balkan peninsula. From all appearances it is not too late for it to do so. The inhabitants of Turkey have learned that their Government is a failure. They have seen it collapse before their eyes, bringing ruin to all of their interests. They are now ready to hail with joy any scheme of reorganization which will promise them peace and protection. They feel their utter ignorance, and are ready to follow any who will give them true sympathy and honest counsel. These people all admire the honesty and fair dealing of the English people, although they distrust the dubious policy of the English Government. If England, in feeling for a defense for her interests in the East, chose to seek the confidence of the people of Turkey; if she cared to make her interference with the Russian plan a labor in behalf of liberty; if she would really undertake to lead the rising nationalities of Turkey into paths of progress and development, she would win a permanent influence over Moslem and Armenian, Greek and Bulgarian. The pending reorganization of Turkey is England's opportunity to secure this influence over all these nationalities.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EARLIER RESULTS OF THE WAR.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *June 25th*, 1878.

THE peace between Russia and Turkey is a fragile affair. The Turks are bringing up fresh troops, and now new Russian forces are beginning to arrive, to take the place of forty-six ship-loads of sick sent home during the month. Some came by rail; and two or three steamers have recently come from Odessa with men for regiments already here. The Russians have also brought a small fleet of steam-launches to Lake Chekmejé, the outlet of which they have opened so as to be able to pass the launches into the Marmora. It is rumored that these launches are to be used as torpedo boats. From Lake Chekmejé to the Prince's Islands it is a sail of an hour and a half. Russian officers have frequented the islands a good deal lately. They doubtless have accurate ideas of the possibilities of the various coves and bays of the islands, with reference to possible uses for their torpedo boats.

While these ominous preparations are going on, we have been reminded how near to the edge of a volcano Constantinople is. The Russians established some high signal stations on their line in front of the city. Fuad Pasha, the dashing young corps commander, demanded the removal of these watch-towers. The Russians

replied that they were not in the habit of taking orders from the Turks, and Fuad rejoined that if they did not remove the signal posts he would do it himself. News of this threat went at once to General Todleben, reaching him while he was dining with some of his officers. The people of San Stefano were shortly electrified by a series of wild hurrahs proceeding from General Todleben's headquarters, and soon a crowd of Russian officers came pouring out, in eager haste, dashing off to the camps. San Stefano was in the wildest panic when it was known that the war was to be resumed at daylight. All the tawdry finery of the mushroom bazaar came down, and a frightened crowd of merchants coming to the city brought us our first news of the affair. The next morning at daybreak poor Fuad found the whole Russian army advancing to new positions near his outposts. Some one then told him that the Russians have a custom of erecting high watch-towers near their camps. Custom is authority with a Turk, and Fuad graciously said that if this was a custom he had nothing to say against the signal stations, and desired to have word to that effect sent to the Russians. Meanwhile Prince Labanoff, Prince Reuss, and Mr. Layard had heard of the impending fight. Horrified at the possibility of an overthrow of the work of the Congress before it was matured, these ambassadors hastened to the Porte, and sent remonstrances to General Todleben, and preserved the peace.

The Russians seem to be making the most of their opportunities. It is the custom of the Turks to sell every year to the highest bidder the privilege of collecting the tithe tax. The Russians are now selling to speculators these rights to collect tithe taxes in various

places near this city. The terms of sale are twenty per cent. of the stipulated amount in advance, the contractors to collect the tithe from the harvest now being gathered. The Russian army chest will by this means net quite a comfortable little sum at the expense of the Porte.

The English fleet has come out from the Gulf of Nicomedia, and is now anchored at the Prince's Islands. Its officers and men throng our streets quite as much as do the Russians.

The fleet has once or twice thrown our city into an agony of excitement by its target practice. Yet, on the whole, the state of affairs in the city has improved since the advent of Safvet Pasha to office. Popular anxieties are calmed by the fact that Osman Pasha, of Plevna, is marshal of the palace, and, living within the sacred precincts, can control any necessary changes. People know at least that he can offer effective resistance to any repetitions of the folly of Ali Suavi Effendi at Cheragan.

The Government has chosen to show mercy to the surviving members of the conspiracy of Cheragan. The men were taken the other day to the Sultan's palace, furnished with coffee and pipes in the name of the Sultan, presented with $100, in paper, apiece, and dismissed with an injunction to remember the mercies of the Sultan. But the Government has other troubles on its hands. The people of the city are beginning to suffer severely for the lack of wood and charcoal. The Russians attract the wood dealers by means of their specie, and Constantinople has to go without. The people find it nearly impossible to get the means of cooking their food, and appeal to the Government to cause wood to

come to the city. The ministry, in true Turkish fashion, has accepted the justice of the idea that it is bound to see to the wood supply, and has proclaimed that hereafter wood brought to the city for sale will not be taxed. This proclamation reveals the fact, known to but few, that the Government, in its straits for money, has been taxing every stick of firewood brought into the city. It further proclaims as a measure of relief for the people, that speculation in wood will be punished as a criminal offense.

The real cause of the failure of the wood supply, as of all disturbances of trade, is the uncertain value of the paper money which floods the market. The Government is now discussing the propriety of refusing to receive paper money in payment of taxes. After the Crimean war repudiation took this same form. Government proclaimed that during the momentary financial stress taxes would be collected in coin, but that after a year or two the paper money would again be received. The financial stress never passed. The old issue of paper remains stacked up in cupboards and vaults, where the new bids fair to join it. Meanwhile provincial officials continue to draw profits from this uncomfortable state of affairs. The treasury has authorized provincial officers to pay their local expenses in paper, reckoning gold at 300. The officials in some places are now doing this. But when the price of gold is over 300, these gentlemen take coin and buy paper, which they force upon their creditors at the rate of 300. But if by chance the rate of gold falls to 250, the officials take paper and with it buy gold, which they pay out to persons whose accounts have been audited in paper, obliging them to receive it at the Government rate of 300.

The result of this ingenuity is to create quite a dividend in the hands of the officers for which they do not feel obliged to account to the treasury.

The corruption among Turkish officials is a feature of the reorganization of Turkey which the Congress of Berlin may not take into account, but which nevertheless is a matter which will have a serious influence upon the execution of many of the measures which the Congress may have under discussion. The tale of these corruptions is endless. The whole body of officials, as a rule, protect one another from the penalties of misconduct. The officials thus form a gigantic ring for self-defense. In the early days of the war, when the conscription was rigidly enforced, a conscript in a small town in Asia Minor paid the district governor $250 for a release from service. The governor took the money, gave a receipt for it as in payment of an old debt, and then reported to headquarters that the man was dead. Several months after this the ex-conscript became involved in a lawsuit which the district governor would not settle, and which was appealed to the high court of the province. The authorities at once recognized the name of the plaintiff, and asked him how, after having died, he had found the means of resurrection. The fellow, taken unawares, confessed that he had paid the governor of his district for sending the report of his death. Since this testimony of bribery was given in a public council, it could not be hushed up. The district governor was sent for, examined, and removed from office. But, as he was departing, the Governor General pityingly said to him, "What a fool you were to let that lawsuit be appealed. If you had only settled the affair in your own district, your dead

man need never have come to life, and you might have kept your place!"

The mutual protection in vogue among officials often goes to great lengths. A Turkish soldier in one of the Bosphorus villages went to a swimming bath kept by a Greek, and after his bath refused to pay for it. An altercation arose. The soldier threw the Greek into the sea, and struck him with his sword bayonet. But the Greek managed to detain him until the noise of the squabble attracted the police, who arrested both parties. The police judge opened an inquiry, and took the testimony of an Englishman as witness. The scribe who wrote out this testimony altered the record so as to make the Greek the assailant, and the Turkish soldier the unhappy victim. The English witness naturally objected to this version of his statement. The police judge thereupon, with every appearance of righteous indignation, turned savagely to his scribe, cursed him with his ancestry up to the fourth generation, and ordered him to write the testimony in the very words of the witness. Having seen the record corrected, the Englishman departed, congratulating himself that one Turk, at least, would get his deserts for abusing a Christian. Since then, however, it has come out that the soldier was released, while the Greek has been imprisoned for threatening and maltreating an inoffensive soldier. After the Englishman had gone, the police judge substituted for the corrected paper the statement first prepared by their scribe, and sent the Greek to headquarters for sentence upon the forged testimony.

The Government itself prevents the destruction of this official ring. It has put the duty of selecting men for the smaller offices of the provinces into the hands of

a commission, which is chosen from the official class. This commission invariably selects its appointees from among the men who have already been tried and found wanting. There are plenty of Christians who might be appointed to subordinate positions, with great advantage on the score of probity. But the commission has never yet judged a Christian capable of serving as governor of a small country district. It invariably prefers retired boot-blacks and coffee cooks from pashas' palaces, when it is seeking for new material with which to fill vacancies caused by promotion.

The consequence of this system is the propagation of the corruption already so often illustrated. The smaller officials receive their offices merely as sources of revenue, and grow in iniquity as they rise in official importance. Besides engaging in petty acts of oppression, bribery, unlawful speculation with government funds, and the like, officials in the country districts often become partners in schemes for robbing caravans or villages, receiving into their houses a share of the stolen goods as the price of their good will. Such crimes, when discovered, rarely meet with severe punishment. They are regarded as results of human frailty, which should be treated in a charitable spirit by all who are not too conceited to acknowledge themselves also human and frail. The crimes upon which this charitable community chiefly vents its unchecked wrath are crimes against etiquette or courtesy. A crime of license, an embezzlement, a fraud, may properly be forgiven. But a crime like spitting in the face, or pulling the beard of a Moslem, is one of those unpardonable wrongs which may shake an entire community, or which justify the application of lynch law.

When the Congress plans to reorganize the Turkish administration, it has to deal with such materials.

I met a Turk to-day who lives in Mesopotamia, and who gives some curious details about life in that part of the world. He says that peach trees are very short lived in that region. Hence the farmers plant their young peach shoots by the side of young willow trees. When the peach is well rooted, and is three or four feet high, its top is passed through an incision in the stem of the willow. The willow finally closes around the peach shoot, and soon adopts it as a part of itself. When adherence is perfect, the willow is deprived of its top, and the peach of its root. The peach slip thus remains growing on the willow stock, and in due time produces peaches which are of good flavor, although of poor color. These peach-willow combinations bear for many years. This man says that, along the Tigris, the villagers in hot weather bathe in the river before retiring for the night, and, if the heat is particularly oppressive, they repeat the bath several times during the night. The heat and the vermin of the huts make small children restless and troublesome. Hence the villagers make baskets, which they line with some soft material, and hang among the reeds which grow in the shallows of the river bank. The babies of the village are stowed at nightfall in these baskets, tied under a cover of basket-work, and remain among the reeds to sleep in peace until morning. The Turk's description recalls Moses in the bulrushes.

July 20th.—The Congress of Berlin has finished its work and has dissolved. Its decisions are satisfactory to none. They show a determination that the guardianship of the Straits and of Constantinople shall remain

with Turkey, for they restore to Turkey much territory cut off by the treaty of San Stefano. But they make no solid provision for any control of Turkey which will insure its reorganization. Without such a reorganization of Turkey, the question of the guardianship of the Straits will inevitably come up again to arouse discord among European nations. The Congress has temporized. Its sense of dangers threatening the peace of Europe at the present critical period has exceeded its sense of the gravity of the questions which in the future may be developed from its incomplete arrangements for regulating Turkey.*

But, just now, the people of our city are more interested by the English occupation of Cyprus than by the decisions of the Congress. The news that England has

* The treaty of Berlin was signed upon the 13th of July. Its main points may be summarized as follows: 1. Bulgaria, including Sophia, to be constituted a tributary principality of the Sultan, ruled by a prince and an elected assembly, and to be organized under a Russian Commissary General assisted by delegates from the European Powers. The period of organization not to exceed nine months.

2. A province called Eastern Roumelia to be formed on the south of the Balkans, and to be governed by a Christian under the orders of the Sultan. The organization of this province to be under control of a commission appointed by the European powers. Russian troops, not to exceed 50,000 in number to occupy Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia during nine months, and to fully evacuate both provinces within three months after this period.

3. Administrative modifications promised in 1868 to be introduced in the island of Crete. Similar modifications to be introduced in the administration of all the provinces of European Turkey which are not otherwise provided for. These details of this reorganization to be submitted to the European commission charged with the organization of Eastern Roumelia.

4. If Greece and Turkey fail to agree upon the ratification of the frontier indicated in the proceedings of the Congress, the Powers reserve the right to offer mediation to the two parties.

made a compact with Turkey has thrilled and astounded the whole country. The Queen is to defend Asiatic Turkey against all comers, and as a means to the accomplishment of this object has received from Turkey the island of Cyprus. As a condition of enjoying the Queen's protection the Sultan has bound himself to reform his administration. As usual in this country, every one speaks as though the reform of Asia Minor is now already accomplished. Dozens of schemes for developing the resources of that region have been formed by enterprising foreigners. Security and prosperity seem to the people of Asia Minor to be certainly guaranteed. Even the Moslems are delighted at the prospect of having England for a master. The officials alone are disgusted. The treaty with England was negotiated early in June, but has remained a most pro-

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5. Bosnia and Herzegovina to be occupied by Austria.

6. Montenegro to be constituted an independent principality, with enlargement of territory (equal in amount to its whole previous area) including the sea port of Antivari, but not to be allowed to hold either ships or flags of war, and its ports to be patrolled by Austrian revenue cutters.

7. Servia to be constituted an independent principality with large additions of territory on the south and east.

8. Roumania to be constituted an independent principality, to cede to Russia the portion of Bessarabia taken from Russia by the treaty of Paris of 1856, and to receive in exchange the district of the Dobruja.

9. Kars, Ardahan and Batoum to be ceded by Turkey to Russia, and Kotour to Persia.

10. The Turkish Government to introduce without delay suitable measures of reform in all districts inhabited by Armenians.

11. Absolute religious liberty to exist in all the territories referred to above, including the whole Turkish Empire.

The gain of Turkey by the substitution of the treaty of Berlin for that of San Stefano was in the territories cut by this new treaty from the principalities erected by the older one, and in the substitution of a European supervision for a Russian supervision of the execution of the treaty.

found secret. The greatest pains were taken to maintain this secrecy until the ratification of the treaty and the transfer of Cyprus to the English authorities. When the time came for the transfer of the island, the Sultan's firman was promised for a certain day, and Mr. Baring was sent on board the English gunboat on which he was to go to the island. For three days the ship waited at Therapia with steam up, for that firman. But no one was allowed to communicate with the shore. Mr. Baring could see his wife from the ship, but he was not allowed to speak to her, lest the great secret should escape.

With the decisions of the Berlin Congress all the people are dissatisfied. Bulgarians, Greeks, Turks, Roumanians, and Russians are all disappointed by the form which has been given to European Turkey. This very fact, however, is a hopeful indication of the general justice of the arrangements made. The widespread disappointment simply means that no one nationality has been favored at the expense of the rights of others. The Bulgarians have expected to rule wherever a few Bulgarian houses could be found. They are much disappointed, therefore, at the restriction of their principality to the region where they are numerically in the majority, and they are angry at losing the Dobruja, where there are some wealthy, though small Bulgarian communities. The Greeks have hoped that their dominions would, at a bound, be extended over Epirus and the mountains of their hereditary enemies, the Ghegs. They are bitterly disappointed in failing of this. The Greeks of this city declare that Greece ought to fight, rather than allow an autonomy to be set up under Turkish sovereignty in Thessaly and Epirus. They fear that prov-

inces which are self-governing and prosperous will no longer lean toward Greece. These griefs are neither well grounded nor serious obstacles to peace. As to the disappointments of the Turks of Roumelia, sympathy is needless. They will be far better off than before, if the intentions of the Congress are executed in the matter of securing their civil rights. It is a curious illustration of the political deadness of the Turks that the wildest believer in a regeneration of Turkey has never suggested that their national aspirations must be taken into account in the reorganization of their country. It has often been said that the Turkish inhabitants would kill all their neighbors before surrendering. But the dangerous point of this surrender of control once passed, no one dreams that we shall hear of an irrepressible development of the Turkish nationality; yet in many districts of Roumelia their race outnumbers all others.

Almost all of the various races of Turkey have hoped to receive independence from the Congress. That is, each race has hoped that some corner of the empire would be set apart for the advancement of its own ambitions, to the exclusion of the aspirations of the other nationalities dwelling in the same cities and towns. It is well that these hopes are all disappointed. What the people need more than independence, is incentive to growth, with protection during the process. This the Congress seems to have sought to provide. The work of the Congress is a step toward the decision of the political future of European Turkey, rather than a final settlement of it. The people of the country must work out the final question by their peaceful development. The principality of Bulgaria will do better than if it had not been limited by the Balkans. Experiments in ad-

ministration by men who, like the Bulgarians, must carry on their own elementary education at the same time should be conducted on a small scale. In Bulgaria even the capacities of the people are yet to be learned, and their character fixed. When the principality is successfully established, East Roumelia may well drift into union with it, unless the Turks and Greeks meanwhile keep their somewhat bombastic promises of surpassing in moral and intellectual growth the Bulgarian minority of that province. Meanwhile it is better for Eastern Roumelia to be dependent upon Constantinople than upon Tirnova. The natural drift of business relations is westward or southward, rather than northward over the Balkans. But whichever way the current may carry East Roumelia, its destiny may be attained without serious shock. The same is true of Macedonia and Thessaly and Epirus. In the present condition of Greece they can be organized more hopefully under European than under Greek supervision. But they cannot many years fail of being added to Greece, if Greece progresses and Turkey refuses to progress.

As to the views of the Turkish Government on this subject, since the treaty of San Stefano it has been easy to regard the Sublime Porte as eliminated from problems of reorganization. But the Porte would not be the Porte if it had not proved its continued existence by a mass of objections and counter propositions the moment it was granted a voice in the Congress.

The proceedings of England since March 2d have fostered in the bosoms of the pashas hope of a war, in which England would win and Turkey gather up the spoils. This hope was chilled by the summons to attend a Congress, which implied an understanding between England

and Russia. And when, in the Congress, England and Russia failed to quarrel over the boundaries; when Greece was given a hearing, in spite of the opposition of a Greek pasha who was a leading delegate from Turkey, and when England proposed making Austria the guardian of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the hope finally melted away. There was little that a council could then do but to express disgust with England as hoodwinked by Russia. In fact, I have reason to believe that, at the council of June 27th, feelings alone were recorded, and that a single phrase was on the lips of all the members. It was a phrase from that vocabulary beneath billingsgate into which the highest of Turks drops, when a mighty passion stuns his mental processes. The phrase is untranslatable, but the idea around which the eloquence of the pashas clung may be rendered as, "Oh, that beastly Congress!"

The next council produced a vote of non-concurrence in the Austrian occupation of Bosnia, with a refusal to withdraw the troops, and grandiosely threw on Austria all responsibility for the results of collisions. Such bluster recalled the lamentable conclusion of the famous Conference of Constantinople, and for a short time one could not help fearing that the threat of war by Turkey would break the harmony at Berlin. The Turks pushed energetically all manner of ostentatious preparations for a fight. They ordered new concentrations of troops at Constantinople, dealt out new stores to the lines, and sent an ironclad down to the flank of their army facing San Stefano. The Russians have all along expected and prepared for resistance on the part of the Turks. They have a hundred guns parked about thirty miles from here, with which to carry out, they say, the

decisions of the Congress. Some of these heavy guns the Russians brought up to the point above San Stefano, and quietly threw up a redoubt for them just opposite the Turkish ironclad. The French fleet approached the Dardanelles, the Austrian and Italian fleets were heard from as about to follow. The power of all Europe was evidently within striking distance of the Porte. Yet the Turks, with their fine fleet, their hundred thousand men, and their splendid position, might do harm, as a boy with a loaded revolver might do serious harm before he could be disarmed, even in the presence of a dozen men. But the ambassadors one after the other called on Safvet Pasha and labored with him. Then Mr. Layard called on the Sultan and argued with him. Then came another great council, and the pashas accepted the situation with a stipulation of conditions, intended only as a resting-place on the way to unconditional surrender. It was not a very long rest which the Turks had, for the Congress instantly rejected every one of the conditions, and the Turks were forced to concur in the Austrian occupation, reserving the right to settle the conditions of it directly with Austria.

As a rule, the Turks refuse every demand. The Berlin Congress gives to Persia the Turkish district of Kotour. The decree for the cession of this district is a humiliation to Turkey; but would have been needless had the Turks accepted the decision of their own referees, made years ago, which declared that the district of Kotour belongs of right to Persia. The decree which authorizes Austria to enter Bosnia implies not only loss, but, by its form, humiliation to the Turks. The Turks might have avoided humiliation at least by taking note of the temper of the Congress, accepting the situation,

and relying upon the good humor of Austria as a means of gaining some advantage in the province. Yet the Turkish Government, failing to see the inevitable, has continued to object and object, until it finds itself ignored in the matter, and discovers that Austria is going to occupy Bosnia with or without the consent of the Porte.

The Turks seem to be born objectors, carrying their blind opposition to innovation into every department. Applications made to the Porte for permits to build, to work mines, to open the channels of rivers, or to introduce other improvements, all meet the same opposition. The Imperial Ottoman Bank is closely related to the Government. Its directors lately asked permission to connect two of their buildings with a telephone. But, even to the bank, the Porte refused to grant so small a favor, on the ground that it could not permit private parties to own telegraphic apparatus. All of which goes to illustrate the proverbial shortness of vision of the Turks. This near-sightedness during the war neutralized a goodly part of the army by scattering troops over a vast front, lest concentration should afford to stray bodies of Cossacks the opportunity to enter the house of some servant of God. Since the war it has prevented the ministry from seeing that territorial pruning may strengthen what is left. It has led the ministry to declare to a delighted people that it will shrink from no sacrifice in defense of its rights, and to risk a partition of the whole empire by a miser-like clinging to every scrap of Turkish soil.

Nevertheless, we may be pretty well assured that, in due time, the Turks will gracefully yield the territory mapped out by the Congress. Turkish ways are not

Frankish ways. The Turkish idea of an honorable and graceful manner of yielding is to refuse point blank; to fill interminable dispatches with objections; to gesticulate wildly; to declaim angrily; and at the last possible moment to change front and surrender everything.

August 18th.—The great farewell review of the Russian army at San Stefano, which took place yesterday, was an event of historic importance, as marking the close of the period of invasion. Blocks of regiments and batteries were arranged in two lines on the plains back of San Stefano, representing a force of eighty thousand men, of which, I suppose, fifty thousand were present. The Russian system of forming line of regiments closed in mass, with battalion front, is very effective on such an occasion. The whole force is placed very compactly, and your eye easily compasses it, receiving the impression that it is a being of vast might, which may at any instant throw out its polypus arms to an unknown distance. I did not see the march past, but it was said to be good, as was to be expected from the machine-like Russians. The infantry moved in column of battalions at half distance, the artillery in column of batteries, and the cavalry in squadrons. The march was arranged to show the bearing of the troops in different circumstances, without the tedious repetition of the defile by the whole army. Some regiments moved at double-quick, and some in common time. One flying battery unlimbered and manœuvred its guns, limbered up, and was off again "without losing step," as we used to say in the army. Thousands of spectators went from Constantinople by boat, rail, and carriage. They blocked the way in every direction,

and were only kept from under the gun-carriages by frantic but benevolent efforts on the part of the mixed police force of the Cossacks and Zabtiés. A verdant youth from Albania or Herzegovina expressed his pleasure in the national fashion by firing off a pistol after the review. To his amazement he was instantly seized, pinioned, and marched off to the San Stefano guard-house, with a guard of ten Cossacks. For a time it was supposed that he was a conspirator, who had attempted to shoot Todleben. As soon as he proved to be only a fool he was turned loose.

After the rush, and roar, and dust of the march past, General Todleben, attended by a motley group of two hundred persons, bestriding all manner of beasts, rode to the other end of the field for breakfast. A great tent was pitched here with the breakfast tables, and with four brass bands, which alternated their strains for three hours. The tent faced Constantinople, and the domes and minarets, the blue Marmora, the islands, the Bythinian hills, and an Italian sky formed a pleasing combination of form and tint, that was like champagne to the guests whose eyes feasted upon it. Eight or ten masts over the tent bore each the flag of one of the nations represented at the breakfast. The Stars and Stripes were on the right and the Persian Lion and Sun on the left flank of the line. Two hundred yards from the tent was a large concourse of spectators armed with opera-glasses, ships' telescopes, and anything else that pretends to aid vision, glaring at the banqueters, but constantly repressed by the vigilant Cossack guards. From San Stefano I went toward Constantinople and over the little creek which forms the dividing line between the Turkish and the Russian positions. After crossing the

bridge I saw some men stretched asleep on the grass. A little distance away were a half dozen more men also asleep, entirely unmoved by the bustle, the music, and the imposing display of force on the hill, not a thousand yards away. I looked curiously at these insensible beings, and saw for the first time that they were the outposts of the Turkish army peacefully reposing in the presence of the enemy. The contrast between the two banks of that little creek was characteristic. And far away, beyond the domes of Stamboul, in the halls of Yildiz was the Sultan, who believed that his own safety, and that of his capital, rested with the men on outpost duty along the Aï Mama Creek! The slumbering sentinels afforded a type of the difference between the Sultan's expectation and official performance throughout the empire.

Letters from Cyprus show that the transfer of the island to England was as much of a surprise there as here. One day two solitary Englishmen, clothed in cool white duck, stalked into the pasha's palace, announced themselves as Mr. Baring, of the English Legation, and the captain of Her Majesty's ship *Salamis;* showed the astounded Turk the Sultan's firman of transfer, and took the reins of Government from his hands. Since then everything has been alive in Cyprus. Men have flocked in from all the surrounding coasts, and from Europe, expecting to make money rapidly. The ambition to be connected at the outset with a new Government, which may in the near future grow into the control of Asia Minor, acts as a very powerful incentive. If the negotiations had not been perfectly secret the island would long ago have swarmed with adventurers. With all the precaution, there were some

very extensive operations in real estate at the last moment. The speculators looked rueful, however, on learning that the English Government will act its own pleasure in choosing the city in which the governor is to reside, and can appropriate any lands which it desires for public use, determining the price itself.

The venerable doctors of Mohammedan divinity in this city have been somewhat aghast at the transfer of this Turkish soil to an infidel sovereign. Informed, however, that the arrangement was necessary, they fell to work to reconcile the transfer with the theory of the Sultan's sovereignty. The Koran requires a Moslem Government to collect tribute from infidel rulers whom it may allow in its dominions. England's guarantee to pay over to the Porte the surplus revenue of Cyprus is the clause of the treaty which saves the Koran from violation. In the language of the learned doctors, this is payment of tribute to the Caliph of Islam by the infidel government of England. The transaction at once becomes a legitimate one. The case of the Venetians on this very island is a precedent, for they paid to Turkey during half a century a tribute of 10,000 ducats. The Turks finally became tired of this arrangement, by the way, and Sultan Selim II. appealed to the Sheikh-ul-Islam for a means of release. This dignitary told the Sultan that treaties with infidels are not binding. Soon after, 100,000 Turks appeared at Cyprus, and, early in 1571, after a campaign of some months, they captured Famagusta, the last stronghold of the Venetians. The commander of this fortress was flayed alive. His skin stuffed with straw was sent to Constantinople with his head. Such was the first act of the Turkish rulers of Cyprus!

There is grief among the wine-bibbers over the transfer of Cyprus. Cyprus wine is famous throughout the East. Now that the English are in control, they will export all the warm and spicy product of the winepress to their cold and foggy land. It is said that the conquest of Cyprus by the Turks was due to the affection of Sultan Selim II. for Cyprus wine.

The refugees are, to some extent, returning to their homes in Roumelia. There are still here about 70,000 of these miserable creatures. The work of repatriation is very slow, for the conditions are hard. The refugees are obliged to show that they are land owners, and that they are not objectionable to the Bulgarians of the town or village to which they desire to return. The Russian authorities here then issue permits for the journey. Arrived at their homes the refugees find, either that their houses are in ruins, or that they are in the hands of Bulgarians, who have been cultivating the abandoned fields. With these Bulgarians the refugees are obliged to settle before they can take possession of their farms. This is not altogether a pleasant matter, for the terms are cash, and ready cash is generally the last thing to be looked for among refugees.

Meanwhile, those who remain in this city work for their living. Multitudes of them are upon every corner, anxious to be hired. Some work as porters; some as woodcutters; some who have with them their farm wagons make a living as draymen. The greater part of the refugees, however, gather wood and dried grass, which they sell in the market. Every morning the men, with all their women and donkeys, deploy over the hills for miles outside of town. Some gather sticks for firewood, and some pull up the dried grass with their

naked hands. When all the women and all the donkeys have been loaded with firewood or with grass, the men come into market. The women toil painfully along under their heavy loads, forced to devote serious attention to the business of keeping the thick blue sheet decently disposed over their faces. The men give their undivided attention to the care of their pipes and their donkeys.

August 23d.—The Turkish delegates at the Congress of Berlin accepted the decision which authorizes Austria to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. They reserved, however, the right of the Porte to negotiate with Austria upon the conditions of the occupation. The negotiations on this subject commenced immediately after the close of the Congress, and amounted to an attempt on the part of the Porte indefinitely to delay, or entirely to prevent the occupation. The Austrian Government soon notified the Porte that it could not make the occupation depend upon these negotiations, if they were unduly prolonged, and that it would send its troops across the frontier on the 29th of July.

The Austrian troops crossed into Bosnia and Herzegovina on the specified day. The Turkish Government was still engaged in devising counter proposals for every proposal of Count Andrassy, and objected to the advance of the Austrian troops. The Austrians have, nevertheless, been steadily progressing. But they have been fiercely resisted at every step by the Moslem population, and by the Turkish troops of the garrison towns, who have commonly taken the part of the people. The population of Bosnia is composed of Slavs, something over a million in number. Of this population about one half are Moslems, and one half Christians. The Moslems are the wealthy and influential men of

the province, and they have succeeded in bringing from sixty thousand to eighty thousand men into the field against the Austrians. The insurgents are armed with the Turkish army rifles, and they use the artillery and the ammunition of the Turkish stores.

The Turkish Government professes inability to control the Bosnians, or their troops in Bosnia; declares the movement against the Austrians to be the spontaneous outburst of irrepressible emotions, and justifies its statements by reciting the murder of Turkish civil officials who refused to join the insurgents. The Sultan has begged Queen Victoria to ask the Emperor of Austria to stop the advance of his troops, until the popular effervescence can be abated. But the Queen has not intervened.

Meanwhile the Austrians are pressing on in three different columns fighting heavy battles, and suffering terrible losses. The Emperor has called out new forces, and is likely to find the occupation of Bosnia a most expensive undertaking.

It is impossible to know what the Turkish Government may have done to provoke this Bosnian tragedy. But it is certain that it has done nothing to prevent it. Its efforts by diplomatic negotiation to prevent the occupation, its promise to secure a peaceful surrender of the country in return for an Austrian recognition of the sovereignty of the Sultan, its threatening declaration that the responsibility of bloodshed would rest upon the Austrian Government, its surrender to the insurgents of troops, arms, and ammunition—all go to fortify the inference that it has chosen to make its protest against an obnoxious clause of the treaty of Berlin, by stirring up this popular uprising.

This charge is brought against the Turkish Government by the newspapers of Austria. It is a grave charge, implying that the Porte has given public orders for its officers to withdraw before the Austrians, and private orders for them to hold the province with desperation. To this charge the Porte replies by pointing to the murder of the officials by the insurgents. But, if double orders were given, they imply that their authors supposed that the officials would find some way of avoiding a conflict.

It is quite possible also that the foundation of the resistance to the Austrians in Bosnia was an order designed to produce a mere demonstration that should back up Safvet Pasha's diplomatic representations. The Turkish conscience is not very voluminous, and it is not here alone that one hears of double orders being given by the Turkish Government. Every one who obtains an order from the Porte for the furtherance of any particular business venture knows this. Urquhart, writing from Albania in 1830, mentions a case parallel to the sacrifice of the ten Bosnian officials who have so far been murdered by the insurgents. The Grand Vezir was then at Monastir with an army operating against rebel Albanians. His general was an Albanian Bey, who succeeded by threat and by promise in gaining the rebel Bey to the side of the Turks, and returned in high glee to the Grand Vezir, bringing the rebel and his chiefs with him. The two Albanian Beys, the rebel and his conqueror, rode up with a numerous retinue. Turkish troops were drawn up in line to receive them, but they fired into the group of Albanians, killing nearly all of them, and giving wild chase to those who fled. The Grand Vezir had been able to think of no simpler means

than this of being rid of dangerous captives. Twenty or thirty faithful servants of the Porte, including the loyal Albanian who had conducted the successful campaign, were sacrificed to this State necessity.

The Turkish newspapers are active in exciting public opinion against the Austrian policy. They have been publishing news said to be received by private telegram from Albania. They describe seven defeats of the Austrian troops by the Bosnians, and comment editorially upon the news in a sense unfavorable to Austria. They are constantly promising their readers new complications. The papers had styled the resistance of the Bosnians a permanent civil war before it had existed a week. They say that the Berlin Congress was misinformed, and would never have agreed to an occupation only possible by the use of as many Austrian troops as there are inhabitants of Bosnia. These troops will have to corner, catch, and kill, or reduce to slavery every individual Bosnian. The newspapers make out the Emperor Francis Joseph, riding roughshod over the tenderest feelings of the Beys of Bosnia, as a selfish, inhuman tyrant. The result of this style of talking is a great fervor of feeling among the people where indifferent acceptance of fate was lately the only sentiment. As Turkish newspapers exist only by consent of the Government, and say or unsay by decree, it is evident that the Bosnian resistance is at least not strongly opposed by the Porte.

Of course this opposition to the treaty of Berlin must finally succumb. But the occupation of the territory of Bosnia will not end the difficulties of the Austrian Government. The passions excited by this fierce struggle will not easily vanish. When Austria begins to restore to their homes the thousands of Christian refugees who

have been haunting its frontier cities, it will have to meet all the difficulties encountered by the Russians in Bulgaria. Moreover a long series of land questions will embitter the relations of the two classes of the Bosnian population.

Lands abandoned by the Christians for more than one year have in many instances been treated as if the owners had died intestate, and so have been sold by the Turkish department of pious foundations. The returning owner will find others in possession with lawful deeds to the property. The purchaser is often blameless, and will suffer real hardship if dispossessed. The case is the more difficult, since the authorities who issued the new deeds disappear with their moneys on the approach of the Austrians. It is the peculiarity of the Eastern question that, settle it as you may, a fresh crop of complications seems ever arising, with the roots deep in the misgovernment of centuries.

September 9th.—Aside from the question of the occupation of Bosnia, which is still unsettled, a host of other questions have grown out of the war and the treaty of peace, which threaten to overwhelm the pashas. The Russians are pressing for the evacuation of the fortresses of Bulgaria. England is pressing for the execution of reform measures in Asia Minor. Greece is pressing for the cession of the territory which she expects to receive under the recommendation of the Congress of Berlin. Montenegro is clamoring for the surrender of the border lands assigned to it. The Albanians are insisting that not a rod of territory shall be ceded to any one; are assembling in large masses to dispute with the Austrians the occupation of Novi Bazar on the southern frontier of Bosnia; and day before yesterday they mur-

dered, at Yakova, Mehmet Ali Pasha, the brave general of the army of the quadrilateral, who had gone among them to quiet them. The finances of the country are crying for amelioration. The people of this city, in sore distress for the means of subsistence, are beseeching the ministry for measures of relief. Scores of speculators, with proposals for charters, and privileges for railroads and mines, are demanding the undivided attention of the Grand Vezir to their schemes. Moreover, a number of new claims are being put forward by those sections of the population which failed to grind their axes at the Berlin assembly. All these questions under the Turkish system have to receive the personal consideration of the Grand Vezir; the other ministers being allowed to take upon themselves no responsibility. To every one the reply of the Porte is, "All right; when this present trouble is past we will do what is needful." But this well-worn formula does not satisfy men in these days of giving and taking provinces. One of the new claims is that of the people of Samos. The island was made a tributary principality of Turkey in 1832. It is free to all intents and purposes, governed by a prince appointed by the Porte, and who must be of the same Church as his people. But there are questions of customs duties and of the annual tribute of $15,000 which the people wish to have modified. These petty questions the Samians present to the Porte now. The pashas sigh and recall the Turkish proverb, "Don't get in debt to a Giaour. He'll ask it on your wedding-day or at Christmas time."

The demands of the Russians are of a class which admit of no discussion since the Russian armies are everywhere present, and thus the pashas are in this

case spared one temptation to waste time with useless councils. But the question of reform in Asia Minor, pressed with great pertinacity by Sir Henry Layard, angers the Turks, and leads them to oppose everything like settlement. The pashas are independent if nothing else, and are indignant on finding the Cyprus treaty quoted by the English press as if it gave England a right of control over the policy of Turkey. Moreover, the attitude of England in the Berlin Congress has served to diminish the regard of the Turks for England. Good authorities state that a majority of the ministry are now in favor of throwing over the convention with England. The Turks wish no such friendship as that of England. England has taken Cyprus, has given away Bosnia, and is now offering to give away Thessaly and Epirus. Far better, say the pashas, seek substantial and permanent advantage in an alliance with Russia. The Porte has yet given no satisfaction on the subject of the reforms. As a condition of the English protectorate of Asia Minor, these reforms bid fair to justify the phrase of an English writer, who has characterized them as a dream of a shadow of smoke.

The Greek question, the Turks at first sought to settle by declaring that the Congress of Berlin based its recommendation of a cession of territory upon incorrect information. Failing in this, the Turks have made a declaration of impotence, averring that the Albanian league is strong enough to prevent the Porte from alienating its territories. But Greece is not to be put off with these objections, and is urging the Porte to appoint commissioners to arrange the new boundary. The real sentiment of the Turkish ministry and the policy which it will adopt are probably truthfully

stated in one of the Turkish papers. This paper advises Greece to make what profit she can out of her own possessions, without trying to steal from her neighbors, and adds: "The Congress of Berlin recommended, but did not order a cession of territory to Greece. Since it thus left us free to use our own discretion, we shall never give Greece one stone of our territory."

The indecisive action of the Congress in reference to the Greek question is thus likely to lead to a long and passionate discussion, and perhaps to war.

The rectification of the Greek frontier is a long deferred act of justice. The frontier fixed for Greece by the European Governments, in 1829–30, was not drawn with reference to physical geography. At that time England, as M. Guizot explains, was thinking only of sparing Turkey; and Russia was thinking only of so limiting the new Greek kingdom, that it might not be able to grow into independence of Russian support. While the arrangement proposed by the Berlin Congress will not answer to the dreams of Greek patriots, it will give to the Greek kingdom a natural and defensible frontier. The Greek representatives before the Congress said that, *for the present*, Greece will ask only the cession by Turkey of Thessaly and Epirus (embracing the larger part of Albania), with the island of Crete. But the Congress set aside this modest request, and merely recommended Turkey to give Greece a strip about forty miles wide, cut from the extreme south of Thessaly and Epirus, hardly more than one-tenth of the territory asked.

The disappointed Greeks can afford to wait. Greece, already far in advance of the half-civilized peoples of Turkey, may expect large things in the future. But,

up to the present time, it has shown so little growth in self-government, that it is torn by a score or two of hostile political factions, all centering about men, and not about principles, and all engaged in a perpetual wrangle for precedence. Educated young Greeks find their career in life almost entirely limited to participation in a meaningless struggle for political power. Those who would choose other directions for their energies are frequently obliged to emigrate to more favored lands. While this is the case, internal development is a more pressing question for Greece than the increase of territory by the annexation of turbulent provinces. The people of Thessaly and Epirus will have more hope of protection and prosperity under the proposed European commission than under Greece as it now is. Three times as many Greeks live outside of Greece as in it. They are the life of large districts in Roumelia, and even in Asia Minor. When Greece has made due development; when Athens has become, in truth, a center of gravity to the Greek world, all these Greeks of the colonies will look up to Greece as the immense colonies of Great Britain look up to England. But now the Greeks of the colonies, being greater in wealth and in weight of character than the Greeks of the home land, can hardly regard the question of annexation to Greece as vitally important. The question of the immediate needs of Greece and the Greeks is thus narrowed to the acceptance by Turkey of the advice given by the Congress of Berlin. The just demand for this will continue to harass the pashas until they have wisdom enough to make the petty sacrifice of territory which is involved in the Greek question.

The Albanian question may be a real cause of anxiety

to the Turkish ministry; but to some of them, at least, it is more probably a source of satisfaction. As the case is presented to the European public, the Albanians are possessed with ardent aspirations for the unity and development of their nationality, declaring their purpose to protect this development now threatened by the weakness of the Porte. They have formed a league, to prevent by armed force the execution of those clauses of the treaty of Berlin which contemplate the cession of territory to Servia, Montenegro and Greece. The men thus in rebellion against the Sultan have mustered an army of thirty thousand men to aid the Bosnians in resistance to the Austrian occupation, and, with the fierce blindness characteristic of Mohammedan fanatics, have commenced their labors by the murder of Mehmet Ali Pasha.

But there is another side to this story. The division of the people into clans which are closely subject to the rule of chiefs, and which are opposed to each other by religious differences, has always prevented unity of national feeling among Albanians. The clauses of the treaty of Berlin which the Albanians are said to oppose, against the will of the Sultan, are the clauses which the Turkish Government desires to see annulled. The so-called league of all Albanians has so far exhibited only Moslems as its leaders, while but little more than one-half of the Albanian race are Moslems. The leaders of this league, although said to be hostile to the Turkish Government, visit Constantinople at will. The Turkish newspapers approve the objects of the league, and declare that it is in no sense a rebellion against the Sultan. The league has held its principal meetings at Prizrend and Monastir, cities which are each the capital of a province, and which are garrisoned by troops

sufficient to overawe or to prevent the assembling of a body considered by the Government to be treasonable. The Albanian forces, said to be preparing to aid the Bosnians, are assembled at Novi Bazar, where a large Turkish army is also encamped. All these facts tell against the theory that the Albanians are swayed by great national aspirations and are engaged in enterprises to which the Turkish Government is opposed. Moreover, while Moslem Albanians are notoriously lax in religious belief, and while this league professes to embrace both Moslems and Christians united by a common patriotism, the reported unmanageableness of the Albanians cannot well rest upon a Mohammedan spirit of fanaticism, as claimed by the pashas.

The Albanians are ignorant and cruel. They may show true fidelity to any one who has won their confidence, yet irresponsible chiefs control them and often lead them to acts of gross treachery. They follow with pertinacity the law of retaliation, carrying ferocious blood feuds from generation to generation. There is a certain rude simplicity about them which may be seen in the measures adopted by the recent meeting of the league at Monastir. These measures may be abbreviated as follows: 1. We will not oppress Christians. 2. We will not commit highway robbery. 3. We will not get drunk, or if we do, we will not bring shame on the Moslem name by doing it publicly. 4. We will not allow the women to wear thin veils. 5. Frank shoes are a temptation to neglect religious ablutions; we will discard them and return to the yellow and red slippers of our fathers.

They also show this simplicity in the directness with which they acknowledge that robbery is a trade

among them. One of their proverbs says, "My purse is my soul; may it be fat." Their chiefs often use the power of their clans for extorting money, finding that raids pay well. During the Greek revolution in 1825 the Turks employed large forces of Albanians. The work pleased these rough mountaineers, and so did the pay, and they more than once willfully avoided decisive action which might have cut short the war. At one time a large corps of Albanians which had inveigled the Turks into advancing payment for three months' service, suddenly retired from the field to enjoy the fruits of glory, leaving the Sultan to extricate himself as best he might from his unexpected predicament. In all these characteristics of the Albanians, there is nothing to suggest the idea of a union among them for high and patriotic purposes. In fact the Turkish Government has ever found the discords among Albanian clans a means of control over the territories occupied by them. It has often been embroiled with Albanian insurrections, but has always commanded the services of clans which have been glad to wage war upon those who have chanced to be in insurrection.

The Albanians doubtless love their native land, but since their passion has always been for personal property rather than for real estate, they have never limited their residence to any well-defined territorial division. The Albanian league is said to claim the right to defend from aggression the whole region between Servia and the Greek frontier, and between the Adriatic and the Archipelago. But this region is a very hodge-podge of nationalities intricately commingled. Its population embraces Turks, Bosnians, Gypsies, Wallachians, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Jews, while its Albanian element

is often in a small minority. The region does not belong to the Albanians, but the Albanians are an accident of the region.

In religion, a large proportion of the Albanians are Moslems. Others of them are Roman Catholics, and yet others are of the Greek Church. The religious views of the Moslem Albanians are not regarded as very orthodox. In fact many of the Albanians who are Moslems by repute are liberal in their views to the extent of worshipping Christian saints when they chance to be in Christian villages. Large numbers of the Mohammedan Albanians are affiliated with the order of Bektashi dervishes. These Bektashis, differing from other Moslems, believe that it is not necessary to worship or to do good deeds as a means of winning favor with God. They divide mankind into two classes: "raw souls," who are still in bondage to legal restraint and ceremonial observances; and "cooked souls," who have ripened into that knowledge of freedom which arises from the impossibility of offending God. These peculiar tenets of the Bektashi dervishes win for them the epithet of heretics among Moslems, and the name of freethinkers among foreign residents of Turkey.

The looseness of these Bektashi principles favors the Albanian habits, while the nominal Mohammedanism of the system secures to those who accept it all the advantages of adherence to the religion of the state. But such a form of Islamism is entirely inconsistent with the idea of the existence of Moslem bigotry and fanaticism among its adherents. While the Albanians, in their relation to the state religion, are considered as very lax Mohammedans; in their relation to Christians, they become very ardent Mohammedans. That is, they

are fanatical only when fanaticism affords a cover for the oppression, robbery, or murder of Christians.

This summary of Albanian peculiarities is necessarily incomplete. It omits much that might be said in favor of the less turbulent clans of Albanians. But the object of the statement is simply to show traits of character among these people which must operate to prevent their action from high motives of public spirit, their union for any object whatsoever, and their subordination to uncontrolled religious bigotry.

Considering the statement of the Porte concerning the unmanageable character of the movement in Albania, and comparing it with the facts of the Albanian character, one has a right to suspect that the Albanian resistance to the treaty of Berlin bears a close resemblance to the Bosnian resistance to that treaty. Both alike imply an unnatural loftiness of spirit among people whose history is opposed to the existence of such a spirit; both seek an object which is ardently sought by the Turkish Government; both have escaped all coercion on the part of the Turkish Government, and all condemnation on the part of the Turkish people. In both, the murder of Government officials has excited no indignation in the Turkish press.

The anxieties of the Turkish ministry concerning the Albanian league and its doings may therefore be omitted from the list of those which impede active measures for the restoration of peace in the empire.

More real obstacles to reconstruction are the questions which arise from the present attitude of the Armenians. The Armenians are vigorously clamoring for the reforms which are promised them by the treaty of Berlin, and they have begun to make systematic publi-

cation of cases of outrage and oppression upon their compatriots of Asia Minor. They have learned the advantages of keeping a subject before the eyes of the public. The ministry is much disturbed by these doings, and seems to feel the necessity of appeasing the excitement of the Armenians. It has confided the restoration of order in Armenia to a Bey, who is authorized to proceed even to the execution of Kourds if necessary. The measure is characteristic of the Porte, in that there are not now enough troops in that region to hang a Kourd, and the Government knows it. The Porte has also asked the Armenian Patriarch to propose reforms that will satisfy his people. Especially he is to suggest what is needed to develop agriculture in the land of Ararat. This proposition is very comforting to the Armenian people; but the venerable prelates of the Patriarch's council are not necessarily the men best able to plan agricultural revivals, although the farmers to be encouraged are of their flock. Moreover, there is not the slightest promise of any performance that shall follow the planning.

But a serious obstacle to rapid changes among the Armenians is the ignorance which yet enshrouds multitudes of their people. The other day a Turk from one of the Asiatic provinces was talking, on one of the Bosphorus ferries, with an Armenian laborer from the same region. The Turk said,

"See here, Sarkis, what is it that we deny you, that you should bring all Europe down on our heads?"

Through a cloud of smoke the answer came slowly back, "I don't know much about it. They say we ought to have an autonomy. You had better ask some Englishman; he can tell you all about it!"

The ignorance of some of the villages in the heart of Armenia is appalling. A friend reared in that region tells me that in his native village there was absolutely no knowledge of the outside world. One day one of the villagers went to the city of Diarbekir, and brought thence many curious things, including a box of matches. A match had never before been seen in the village. Villagers from thirty miles around used to come to this man's house, petitioning to be allowed to see him light a match. When the room was filled with people in breathless expectation, the traveled man would solemnly take his pipe, select a match, hold it up for all to see, with explanations of its uses, and then strike it and light his pipe, while reveling in the delight, astonishment, and applause of the assembly.

Another serious weakness of the Armenian nationality is its lack of laymen who are in power of mind the peers of the clergy. This defect probably had an influence upon the presentation of the case of Armenia before the Congress. The Armenian delegates at Berlin were two Bishops. They are learned and quite liberal men, but are still unable to look at the question of Armenian self-government from any other than an ecclesiastical point of view. They asked unchecked power for their fellow churchmen as Armenian churchmen, although the Armenians are only a minority of the whole population of Armenia. They expect Armenia to be so constituted as to furnish their educated young men with official careers. This idea would make membership of the Armenian church the first, and ability a secondary qualification for office.

During all this time of uncertainty all the people of the empire have been breathless in expectation. The

Turks have been hoping for escape from the penalties of war, and have said that the daily telegrams make them sick by revealing the utter shamelessness of the European character. But the Christians have hoped for power at the hands of the Congress.

The odd feature of their mental state has been their selfishness, even while expectant of liberal things. Each race has had its private jubilations over that which the Congress has done for it, and its private indignation meetings over the failures of Congress. But of mutual congratulations and sympathies there have been none. Each nationality rejoices with the petty malice of children over the disappointments of the others. They feel the galling yoke of Turkish injustice, and rejoice at deliverance from it; but that is not the great result for which they sigh. Their eager watch for the news from the Congress has been to see if it shall put their particular race or sect in control over all others in some part of the empire. They feel that the chief right of which they have been deprived is the right of having a portion of territory set apart for their exclusive use and benefit. This is in accord with the doctrine that each nationality should be allowed to follow its natural aspirations, but it is not feasible in Turkey, because so many nationalities are so hopelessly intermingled. No commonwealth, no true self-government is possible in Turkey until the idea of the sovereignty of separate nationalities is abandoned. If these people are set free they expect to enjoy sovereignty over other races.

Take, for instance, the Armenians. They made a census for the information of Congress. They naturally desired to make their race appear as large as possible. But, so far as I can learn, their statements in-

cluded no statistics from the Roman Catholic or the Protestant Armenians. Both of these groups are educated and influential, although comparatively small. But to have asked for or admitted their statistics would have implied equality for them in the new Armenia. A priest, who said the other day that Armenia will quickly show schismatics their place, only slightly passed the line to which his people would follow him. To all the Christian nationalities of Turkey freedom means the Turkish political system, changed only in the nationality of the ruling power. If the work of the Congress of Berlin is successful in the face of race enmities, which rise up on every hand to overturn the fairest theories, it will indeed have proved marvelous in foresight.

Nor is the Turkish ministry relieved from anxiety with reference to the parts of the empire which are removed from its direct control. The Bulgarians threaten to shed blood in opposing the organization of Eastern Roumelia, as the separate province decreed by the Congress of Berlin. The Russians are, perhaps, not averse to obstructions in the way of the execution of this part of the treaty, but they are averse to any further independent action of the Bulgarians. The Bulgarians have already done too much to bring discredit upon the character of their Russian protectors. Oppression and corruption have already appeared among the Bulgarians brought into official positions through the result of the war. Even the better class of the Bulgarians themselves are disgusted, because unworthy men have pushed themselves to the front. They supposed that the magic word autonomy was the key to all good, but they find that the evils with which they have had to contend are not abolished by a mere

change of government. Moreover, a consular commission, sent to examine the case of the Moslem insurgents of the Rhodope Mountains, has gone the rounds in fearfully hot weather, and has made out a report of outrages by Bulgarians, which the Russian member refuses to sign, but which is none the less a serious testimony to the failure of Russian and Bulgarian officers as civil administrators in mixed communities. The Russians are very sore about the matter, for there is an imputed participation in crime which is their share of every Bulgarian escapade. They are becoming harsh when they find Bulgarians in mischief. Several Bulgarians, charged with robbery and worse, have been shot and hanged by the Russians. Near Yamboli, where some Bulgarians persecuted Protestants for their religion a few weeks ago, hard and summary punishment was meted out by an army officer, who rode into the village with twenty Cossacks, and flogged all whom he could arrest of the men who were engaged in the outrage. He also flogged the wife of the head man of the village, who had fled, as a lesson to him by proxy. Such a performance may have been very satisfying to the feelings of the officer, whose sense of justice was offended, but it is hardly the best method of producing a permanent settlement of difficulties. The dread of new disturbances in Bulgaria is a source of real trouble to the pashas.

Altogether this summary of the first results of the war is not encouraging to those who hope for a speedy pacification of their long-suffering country, nor reassuring to the high Turkish dignitaries upon whose coolness and wisdom so much depends.

October 1st.—Turkey continues to be absolutely with-

out progress toward recovery, and appears to make steady progress in decline. The Sultan, in his desire to bring about a better state of things, is encouraging an increase of piety among the pashas. He has organized a Bible class, or rather a Koran class, in the palace, and invites the ministers to drop in of a morning while on their way to business and to spend an hour in discussing the Arabic text. But Turkish officials are always prominent when it comes to declarations of religious feeling; although there seems to be a great gulf fixed between their piety and the principles of their lives. In Damascus a series of placards have been appearing which set forth, by items, various acts of Turkish officials, such as bribery, extortion, embezzlement, etc., which are contrary to the true principles of Islamism. The placards have also been furnished to the ministry here. The placarders are evidently Moslems, but have nevertheless failed to arouse the conscience of the Government into condemnation of the sinners. Orders have been sent to Damascus to have the placards torn down and their writers severely punished as disturbers of the public peace. But the pashas have no rebuke for the men who are thus accused of specific crimes.

A curious incident has lately come to hand to increase the bulky record of the Turkish facility for blundering into untenable and humiliating positions. It seems that a day or two before the Russian troops entered Varna they occupied the heights and some of the outworks. In the afternoon a number of Russian officers with about two hundred soldiers went to the town to go to church, but the Turks shut the gates in their faces. This angered the Russian general, who demanded admittance, promising that his men should

leave after service. The gates remained shut, however, and at last the general sent word to the Turkish commander that he would stand no nonsense. If the gates were not opened immediately he would bombard the town. The commander had never thought of this contingency and had to take back his decision, sending out a battalion of troops with a band of music to escort the Russians into town as his guests.

The Greek question is becoming more threatening. Both Turkey and Greece are assembling troops along the frontier with every chance of collision. In Bosnia the Austrian army is painfully completing the subjugation of the country, while the Turkish Government is still negotiating at Vienna a convention to govern the occupation. Meanwhile rumor says that the Austrian occupation of Bosnia is but a first step toward an occupation of territory between Bosnia and the Archipelago, which would make Salonica an Austrian seaport of great importance, and the rival of the Italian port of Brindisi in the quick mail route to India. The Albanians are quiet. The murderers of Mehmet Ali Pasha have not been punished, while the Turkish officials in Albania seem still to be on terms of amity with the famous Albanian league.

In local affairs the Government has engaged in a struggle with the currency, and is so far worsted. Paper money has depreciated until it is a burden to carry it about. Gold is about four hundred. The banks of Galata have caused the new disturbance by putting upon the city market some $2,000,000 in paper, which they took during the war as security for specie advances to the Porte. The people believe that the Government has been printing more currency. In vain the Govern-

ment has continued the public cremations of paper; in vain it has protested that it has made no surreptitious issues of currency; in vain it has sent eminently respectable commissions to seal up the currency presses in order that they may not produce scrip by spontaneous generation; it cannot convince the public that its paper money is of stable value.

The finance minister, at his wits' end, has called to his aid various eminent financiers. He has thought to capitalize the revenue of the island of Cyprus. This, guaranteed by England, would pay interest on a loan of respectable amount. But he has received notice that no new Turkish loans will be allowed a quotation in European stock boards, until after provision has been made to pay the interest of existing loans. The unhappy minister of finance is thus reduced to utter despair.

Turkey has abundant resources with which to meet its liabilities. It has its forests of valuable timber; its rich mines of salt, coal, iron, copper, lead, silver, and other metals; its abundant variety of valuable agricultural products; its boundless commercial possibilities. All these resources await the hand of skill to turn them into gold with a touch. Or if Turkey cannot wait for the slow development of resources, it has in the treasury of the Sultan jewels of enormous money value, which, transformed into money, might easily tide over the present emergency of the minister of finance.

This treasury of the Sultan's, in one of the heavy stone outbuildings of the ancient palace, is situated in the inner court of the Seraglio. Three massive walls must be passed by him who would enter this court from the city. In front of the building is a wide portico sup-

ported by slender marble columns, and roofed with sheet lead. The lead and the walls are of one hue—the dull gray hue of age. On either side of the heavy iron door are glass cases containing ancient arms and armor. Half a dozen gentlemen in black broadcloth, and wearing the everlasting red fez cap, are standing about the door. They examine your ticket of admission critically, question your portly attendant, and study you, from head to foot, suspiciously. At last, as if against their own judgment, they unlock the unwieldy doors, turning the huge key three or four times to accomplish that result. You pass the low arch of the ancient doorway, and find yourself in a heavily vaulted room, some eighteen feet square, lighted by small windows that are grated like those of a prison. A door on one side leads to another room of about the same size, and in every respect similar. Both the rooms have galleries around the four sides, which are reached by winding staircases. The four sides of both rooms and of their galleries are occupied by glass cabinets which extend from floor to ceiling. In the center of each room is a large glass show-case. All these cabinets and cases are filled to overflowing with relics of the old Sultans of Turkey, that is to say, with gold and precious stones of inestimable money value. This is the treasure-house of the decrepit, bankrupt Turkish Empire.

In the center of the first room is a throne. It is a platform about two and one-half feet square, with a cushion of cloth of gold embroidered with pearls, rubies, and diamonds. Around three sides of the cushion is a low rail supported by miniature columns, and standing about eight inches high. The whole body of the throne is overlaid with plates of gold, and the rail is studded

with clusters of rubies symmetrically arranged. The first thought that strikes one on seeing this throne is the surpassing value of its jewels, and the second is the superlative discomfort of the concern viewed as a resting-place. The rail which answers for arms and back is perpendicular and rectangular, and could rest neither the arms nor the back of the enthroned Sultan. Uneasy the man that sits the throne must be the Turkish equivalent of the proverb concerning the wearer of the crown. In one corner of the room is another throne, said to be the throne of Nadir Shah, of Persia. It is of some dark wood, delicately inlaid with ivory and pearl, and has a canopy of the same materials, from the center of which hangs a great gold ball decorated with precious stones.

In one of the cabinets is the cradle of the imperial babies. It stands low on its rockers, like the cradles now in use in Turkey. The two ends rise a foot above the mattress, and are connected at the top by a bar which runs lengthwise of the cradle. The whole is of solid gold, and the outside of the cradle is crusted with pearls, diamonds, rubies, and turquoises.

In one of the galleries are the effigies of all the Sultans of Turkey down to Mahmoud the Reformer. The figures are dressed in what profess to be the state robes actually worn by the Sultans which they represent. The costumes are all different, and differ very much in cut, indicating the changes of fashion during the last five hundred years. But all these dresses agree in the feature of richness. Cloth of gold and silk brocade are the materials, and many of the figures are weighed down with jewels. The swords or daggers which all of the figures wear are especially magnificent in their dis-

play of precious stones. The dagger of Sultan Mahomet II., the conqueror of Constantinople, has in its handle an emerald full two inches long and an inch thick. I use the adjective "thick" advisedly, for solidity of splendor is the impression left on the mind by that emerald. All of these gentlemen wore large turbans, and bedecked their turbans with diamonds. The only exceptions are seen in the case of the boy Sultan, Osman II., who was killed by his janissaries before he had attained man's estate, and in the case of Sultan Mahmoud the Reformer, who alone of all his kinsmen appears in European broadcloth. His head-dress is the fez cap, with a plume of bird of paradise feathers fastened in place by a great spray of diamonds.

But there is no such thing as describing in detail the splendors of these rooms. There are antique arms and armor, heavy with gold and jewels; there are innumerable horse-trappings and saddles, covered with plates of gold and studded with emeralds, rubies, topaz, diamonds, and pearls; there are saddle-cloths embroidered with precious stones. Several sofa covers hang in the cabinets as background to the smaller articles. They are worth $150,000 apiece, and are heavy cloth of gold embroidered with seed pearls. In one of the cabinets are three uncut emeralds, the largest being the size of a man's fist, and the smallest larger than a hen's egg. The birds of the palace realized the experience of dwelling in cages of gold, for here they hang—these ancient cages of gold wire. Some of the cages have a clock in the bottom, face downward, so that the royal household might see the time of day as they lolled on the divans beneath. The imperial princes appear to have gone to school in childhood, for here

are the satchels in which they carried their books—bags of velvet embroidered with gold and pearls and diamonds. In another place you see many mottoes from the Koran, embroidered in diamonds on red velvet. There are amber mouth-pieces for pipes, studded with diamonds and rubies. There are coffee-sets and tea-sets of all degrees of magnificence; and vases of crystal and agate and onyx—some of these profusely bejeweled. There are inkstands and snuff-boxes innumerable, all glittering with priceless gems. There are royal knives and forks and spoons of solid gold, with jewels on their handles. There is an immense array of clocks. One would suppose that every Sultan had his private clock which ceased to tick when his heart stopped beating.

Among the articles in this imperial treasure-house are many which must be regarded simply as toys. Of such is a tea-set of tortoise-shell as thin as paper. Another toy is a lady's parasol of white silk exquisitely embroidered with gold, the staff of which is a single branch of coral so long and true and well adapted to its purpose that one might search years and fail to find its like. There are also very many fans of varying degrees of splendor. Another one of the toys is a figure of a Sultan seated on his throne under a golden canopy ribbed with alternate rubies and emeralds. The whole structure is, perhaps, six inches high. The body of the figure is a single huge pearl, the lower extremities are carved from a blue turquoise, and the turban is a solid mass of diamonds. There is literally no end to the marvels of this place. After every conceivable use has been made of jewels, the surplus unmounted stones are gathered by handfuls into crystal

bowls at one end of the cabinets in the second room. The spoils of all the empires which preceded the Ottoman Empire are heaped up in these two dingy stone rooms in the old Seraglio at Constantinople.

It requires some time fully to realize the enormous wealth of this treasure-house. But slowly one becomes convinced that these treasures can only be the accumulation of centuries, and represent the heritage of the Ottomans from all their predecessors. Once assured of this, the traveler will find a peculiar fitness in the aspect and attitude of the guards of the place. They stand, dressed in spotless black broadcloth, four or five feet apart, in line along the cabinets, perfectly motionless. And they are solemn of countenance, as if standing by the catafalque of some deceased monarch lying in state for the homage of his subjects.

It does not seem reasonable that these jewels can be real, and yet can lie here idle in the present terrible straits of the Turkish Empire. Multitudes of articles in these rooms have great historical and artistic value, entirely aside from their intrinsic worth. I spoke in this strain to an officer in one of the foreign banking establishments of the city. He replied that the jewels are unquestionably genuine. He said, that during the war the Turks borrowed $30,000,000 from the bank. The loan was secured by pledge of jewels from this treasure-house, and the bank officials were told to help themselves from its riches. They selected enough of the jewels to guarantee them amply against loss. These jewels were packed in three small boxes, and removed to the vaults of the bank. But their removal left no gap in the great accumulation. Afterward I asked a Turk why the Government did not sell this treasure

and be at ease. "Sell it?" said the Turk; "why, it is the treasure of all the Sultans. It cannot be sold."

So there is this treasure-house to-day—a grand relic of ancient splendor—in the hands of the broken, ruined remnant of the house of Osman. The possession of this enormous wealth must be a terrible temptation at times to the worn man who wears the sacred sword of Turkey. But he clings to it through all his adversity, for it is the only relic left to the empire of the glory of its past.

The Turkish minister of finance has made no attempt to use the resources of the country for the redemption of the paper money. His plans for dealing with the hated stuff all look toward its abolition rather than its redemption. They are all very like to plans for some disguise wherewith to cover repudiation.

But the month of fasting, called by the Turks the blessed month of Ramazan, has increased the distresses of the ministers. During all of the past month they have been compelled to deliberate and decide weighty questions, while suffering pangs of hunger and thirst. Consequently they have been surly, obstinate, and implacable. Possibly the close of the fast may facilitate the settlement of pending questions.

I think the greatest trial of the Turk during this fast of Ramazan is his enforced abstinence from tobacco. The fact that tobacco may not be smoked during the hours of daylight, leads the best of Turks into overpowering temptations. A few days ago I watched one of these tempted ones upon the underground railway between Pera and Galata. He went to the furthermost extremity of a platform car, where he was partly screened by the darkness of the tunnel. After looking

carefully around to see that no other Moslem was near, he hastily rolled up a cigarette, fiercely puffed at it to extract its sweets as rapidly as possible, and in two minutes more was compelled by the glimmer of light in front, which betokened the end of the journey, to throw it half-unconsumed away. During the two minutes of darkness he had tasted bliss. No bold youth ever more tumultuously enjoyed the theft of maiden's kiss in the favoring glamor of a tunnel. But once more in daylight the Turk forgot his joy in remorseful fear. Perhaps a tell-tale thread of tobacco had lodged upon his garments. He began to brush himself down with his hand. Then he found that in one hand he still clutched his tobacco pouch, and blushed like a schoolboy at the discovery. He hastily restored the forbidden article to its proper pocket, and looked fiercely at his fellow-passengers, to see if any one was daring to smile. Suddenly he remembered that his breath would betray his incontinence. Evidently the guilty man knew nothing of cachoux. He took out a silk handkerchief, and, turning his face toward a shop-window, stopped, and began a vigorous cleansing of his lips, while he many times looked over his shoulder as if expectant of an accuser. He was clearly conscience-smitten for having attempted to combine concession to appetite with obedience to religious conviction.

The Turks are now receiving back their prisoners from Russia. Several thousand men arrive every week. They are well clad and well fed, and all wear enormous boots which emit a powerful odor of Russia leather. The returned prisoners say that the Russians at first issued to them rations of black bread such as their own soldiers use, but the Turks would not touch it. The Russians

then provided white bread expressly for the Turks. The only complaint which the men make is that they were taken to an unearthly region where the night is only three and a half hours in length, and that there they were set at road-building with wages of ten cents per day of eighteen hours. They seem to have thrived on this regimen, as there is not a battalion in the Turkish army which can compare in appearance of sturdy health with these returned prisoners.

Haireddin Pasha, ex-Prime Minister of the Bey of Tunis, has lately come to Constantinople, and has been invited to sit at cabinet councils with the ministers. The regard of the Sultan gave Haireddin Pasha a prominent place in the great procession which inaugurated the feast of Bairam. It is rumored that this favor indicates that we shall soon hear more of this new man.

The feast of Bairam, which always follows the close of the month of Ramazan, was celebrated as usual by a great pageant on the occasion of the Sultan's public attendance at a sunrise mosque service. Rumor had fixed this occasion for an attack upon the Sultan. Whether His Majesty feared such an attack or not, at the last moment, abandoning the time-honored route to the hippodrome and the Mosque of Sultan Ahmed, he made a much shorter journey to a mosque near his palace. The war is over; the Russian army has surrendered San Stefano and the fortifications of Constantinople; the English fleet has been ordered to withdraw from the Sea of Marmora. But the Sultan is not relieved from his difficulties. He looked white and weary as in this procession he rode through the dense masses of people who lined the street. His lips were almost colorless, and their tension was not relieved by the frequent ner-

vous movement of his hand to his mouth. While I was watching the tired monarch, the thunder of cannon made me turn about. There, in the mouth of the Bosphorus, was the English fleet. It had come to the gates of the city before leaving for the Mediterranean, and was saluting the majesty of the Sultan of Turkey.

A small tub of a cutter, lying at anchor off Tophané, represented the dignity of the Turkish flag by returning this salute. The contrast between this absurd four-gun Turkish cutter and the monstrous ironclads whose salute it was acknowledging was very great. But it was no greater than the contrast which I could see between the ideal caliph saluted by the English ships as they successively wheeled to depart for the south, and the real sovereign, oppressed by the humiliations of the war, tortured by anxieties, and harassed by a constant struggle for the mere right to live.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE WAR.

THE impressions of the Turkish crisis conveyed by the preceding pages require, for the sake of completeness, some indication of the relation of this crisis to the previous history of Turkey. Before farther noticing the conduct of the Porte after the signature of the Treaty of Berlin, it may be well, therefore, briefly to describe the earlier growth of those disturbances which the Berlin Congress sought to allay.

The war undertaken against Turkey by Russia in 1853 might have made a permanent end to Turkish misrule, had not other European Powers objected to the seizure by the Czar of the territories of the Sultan. England, France, and Italy united in expressing this objection, and maintained it by a bloody war. These Powers could neither close their eyes to the corruptions and the oppressions of the Government of the Sultan, nor ignore the helpless condition of the Christians of Turkey, nor disapprove the impulse to rescue the sufferers which had armed all Russia for war. They did not act from any blind love to the Turks. But they were unwilling to permit the settlement of questions of territory to be an incident of the settlement of questions of administration. Since they wished to enforce the separation of the question of relieving the Christians of

Turkey from the question of disposing of the territories where these Christians live; since they desired to make a permanent end to Russian adventures upon Turkish soil; since they were unwilling to see the queen city of the East falling into the hands of the Czar; the allied Powers threw their whole force into the work of maintaining the Sultan at Constantinople.

But victory on the battlefield could not alone secure the objects in view. The sacrifices of that terrible Crimean war would prove fruitless unless they led up to the formation in Turkey of a system of Government that would secure to the oppressed Christians the ordinary rights of man, thus removing the moral part of the Eastern question from the sphere of the passionate interest of Russia. The allies could not fortify the Turkish Empire against future aggressions unless they could lead the Turkish Government to cease its oppressive conduct toward Christians. The reorganization of the administrative system of Turkey, which Russia had been prevented from accomplishing in her own way, thus fell, as one of the consequences of victory, upon the alliance which had fought for the sovereignty of the Sultan.

The allies recognized this fact. But they desired to give stability to the work which they had to do, by securing from the Great Powers of Europe a pledge for united action in future questions relating to Turkey. If Europe was pledged to act in unison in case of difficulties with the Sultan, no one Power could separately attack Turkey for the advancement of its own interests, and to the prejudice of the interests of other Powers. Hence the questions arising from the Crimean war were submitted to a Congress of the Great Powers. This Con-

gress recognized in principle that the existence of the Turkish Empire was a matter of general necessity to Europe. The Powers thus represented, therefore, while sealing the peace between Russia and the allies, formally guaranteed the territories of the Turkish Empire against partition. These guaranteeing Powers, which with Turkey composed the Congress of Paris of 1856, were England, France, Italy, Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

The indispensable condition of this guarantee of territorial integrity was naturally understood to be the reform of the internal administration of Turkey. The representatives of the Sultan promised such a reform; the Sultan himself was willing to make it; the Turkish people, moreover, were convinced that the Sultan ought to follow the advice of his allies in regard to the needs of the country. Everything indicated that Turkey would, of its own motion, carry out a reform in the desired direction, and would, in doing this, gladly profit by the aid of the European Powers. But the chief Turkish plenipotentiary, Ali Pasha, represented to the Congress the need of protecting in the eyes of the Turkish people the independent sovereignty of the Sultan. For this reason he desired the proposed reforms to proceed as the voluntary act of his imperial master. The Congress accepted this suggestion as reasonable, and, instead of setting forth administrative reforms in Turkey as the condition of the guarantee of territorial integrity, it merely noted in the treaty of Paris the fact that the Sultan had declared his intention to make such a reform.

Doubtless the Congress regarded the mode of expression adopted in this case to be merely formal. England at least expected to apply to Turkey the invigorating

stimulant of her advice, with exactly as much freedom as if the treaty had given her the technical right to do so. Turkey has certainly expected to submit her internal administration to some supervision from her friends and allies. Yet the wording of the treaty of Paris was the seed which afterwards blossomed into a new charter of Turkish independence. It deprived the allied Powers of the fruit and of the justification of their war in defense of Turkey, and it became the means of reviving the unreformed Turkey of history, beset in due sequence by her historical and inexorable Nemesis, Russia.

Upon the signature of the treaty of Paris the Sultan issued a decree of reorganization for his empire. This document, known as the Hatti Humayoun of 1856, proclaimed liberty, equality, and prosperity to all the people of Turkey. It ordered general financial reforms, the execution of public works of utility, and the employment of foreign talent as a means of securing successful results. It confirmed all the ancient privileges of the Christian sects of Turkey, and abrogated all laws and usages which might imply the political inferiority of dissenters from Islamism. This proclamation was more than an edict of reform. To all hoary evils it was an edict of destruction. At one sweep, vexatious taxes, oppressive measures of tax collection, regulations which excluded Christians from the army and from the dignities and emoluments of office, and civil disabilities which debarred Christians from the privileges of the courts, were all declared to be forever annulled. In short the Hatti Humayoun of 1856 decreed all that the allies of Turkey could desire. If Turkey was reorganized upon such a basis, its progress toward the adoption

of a Christian civilization would satisfy the most carping of critics.

But in Turkey an immense distance always lies between promise and fulfillment. When a Turk is urged to do anything distasteful he commonly has recourse to a promise, as an invocation of Divine aid. He may not directly purpose to violate his agreement. If God wills, the promise shall be fulfilled. But the Turk puts the whole responsibility upon the Providence which he believes to be the daily guide of mankind. If no miraculous interposition disturbs his indolence, the Turk proceeds as if the will of God had been declared in favor of inaction. For he believes that God will certainly cause the execution of any measure that is marked with his favor. In the Turkish philosophy, assent to a measure, because it removes all human obstacles to Divine interposition, thus comes to be regarded as nearly equivalent to executive action. The Turkish ministry, ruled by this national philosophy, and seeming to feel that the mere composition of the Hatti Humayoun was enough to exhaust any statesman, paused for a long breath of relief after having edited that document. They doubtless expected to be urged into action, but England and France showed no particular interest in the subject, taking no steps worthy of the importance of the issues which they had staked upon the reform of Turkey. In fact, as if they too had accepted the Turkish philosophy, they seemed ready to drop the question of Turkish reform.

The merest outline of subsequent events in Turkey will show how unerringly the carelessness of the allies led to the reopening of discussions thought to be forever closed by the Crimean war.

At the time of the promulgation of the Hatti Humayoun, its responsible author, Ali Pasha, was Grand Vezir of Turkey. But within a year, the removal of Ali Pasha from office reasserted the proverbial fickleness of the Sultans of Turkey. At this time serious remonstrances from England or France might have restrained the Sultan from exercising his whims in changes of ministry, which must needs be fatal to the growth of reform. But England and France left the Sultan unrestrained. The Turkish ministry was changed fourteen times in the fifteen years which elapsed between the treaty of Paris and the death of Ali Pasha. No firm, progressive policy could be expected from ministers who, expecting every moment to receive an order to make way for the next favorite, literally kept their official papers in carpet-bags. One policy alone was constant through all these changes, and that was the policy of requiring non-intervention from the unwary European. Powers, and of using the prestige thus acquired to facilitate the sale of bonds to European capitalists.

Often these changes of ministry brought into office avowed enemies of reform, but four times they restored Ali Pasha to power. Every time that Ali Pasha resumed office he promised to execute the Hatti Humayoun. But he always insisted that pressure from Europe, by exciting the populace, would retard the work of reform. The ambassadors at Constantinople by avoiding serious interference, through deference to the wishes of Ali Pasha, were soon transformed into mere helpless bystanders. They did often expostulate with the Porte in isolated cases of injustice, but they thus redressed only individual grievances, doing little toward

the reformation of principles. The moment that the single case of wrong-doing was set right they relapsed into silence. Reform as explained by such a course soon began to be interpreted by the people to mean an arrangement intended to free the clients of the ambassadors from burdens which weighed upon the whole Turkish nation. The caution thus exhibited by the ambassadors, while considered in Europe to be wise, was interpreted in Turkey as a sign that European interference in Turkish affairs had no basis in equity, and it cultivated the hatred of the populace both for the meddling Europeans themselves, and for the reforms which they were supposed to demand.

Nevertheless, some changes were made in the Turkish system of administration. Disturbances between Moslems and Christians in Syria led, in 1861, to the assertion by England and France of the right of dictation in Turkey. But this dictation was limited, as usual, to the single case in hand. It resulted in the framing for the small district of the Lebanon of a new administrative system. While, therefore, the intervention of Europe at this time secured a quiet in one district which has not since been broken, it produced no real effect upon the general policy of the Turkish Government. So soon as the Lebanon was restored to order, the European Powers once more became negligent as to the question of Turkish reform.

But the effect of this spasmodic interference was to show Ali Pasha, now once more Grand Vezir, that he could not wisely delay measures which might conciliate public opinion in Europe. He therefore prepared a plan of reform. He divided the empire anew into provinces, or vilayets. Each province was to be under a Governor-

General accountable only to the Sultan, and supplied with an elaborate staff of treasurers, auditors, engineers, and surgeons for the management of all departments of provincial administration. Each province was also to have a Christian vice-governor, an advisory council composed of Moslems and Christians, an independent judiciary, and a police force complete in itself. This scheme of reorganization was first applied to the province of the Danube (Bulgaria). The first Governor-General of this province, Mithad Pasha, was given plenary powers which relieved him from official interference in the details of his administration. The French penal code was translated and placed in the courts of the province. The people were allowed to elect their own village magnates, or selectmen, while the general interests of the Christians of the region were supposed to be protected by the presence of Christians in high offices, and in the council of the governor. In a year and a half brigandage was practically extinct in Bulgaria, several hundred miles of roads had been built, and schools, city hospitals, banks, and steam-navigation companies had been established. The people were placed in a position of comparative comfort and security. The new system seemed a complete success.

In 1867 Ali Pasha ordered the new system of provincial government to be applied throughout the empire. Then he called the attention of the European ambassadors to the fact that the Hatti Humayoun of 1856 was, in principle, fully executed; pointing to the improvements in Bulgaria as an example of the work which the reformed administration was doing for the whole empire.

This was done at a time when a revolt in Crete was

calling the attention of Europe to the subject of serious intervention in Turkey. It is hardly possible that the sagacious diplomats of the Legations at Constantinople were really deceived as to the condition of Turkey at this time. Yet they spoke and acted as if the work of reform was truly accomplished. But the reorganization was all a glittering show. Not one of the new provinces had really been handed over to a responsible governor. The Sultan and his ministers retained direct control of the smallest affairs of provincial administration. Each official executed the orders issued by the Porte from day to day, and anticipated nothing in the execution of these orders. Being under orders, no governor ventured to take responsibility, but referred the most minute questions to the central Government. The whole machine, which had been elaborated in order to secure to the provinces a degree of local self-government, depended for its working upon the will of the Grand Vezir as representative of the Sultan. The intricacy of the system, with its long array of officials, offered abundant facility for bribery and extortion. The care of the Government, which placed Moslem superiors over every Christian functionary, and which secured Moslem majorities in every provincial council, deprived the Christians of an authoritative voice in affairs; while the contempt felt by all Moslems toward any laws which are not based upon the Koran insured the impotence of the penal code introduced from France. In fact the whole system of reformed administration was lifeless from the beginning. The semblance of life, which it once had in the province of the Danube departed there also when the freedom temporarily accorded to Mithad Pasha was withdrawn from his suc-

cessor. During three years Ali Pasha struggled with the attempt to impart to his ponderous mechanism the appearance of self-motion. Sensitive to the danger of causing offense in Europe, he would reprimand a governor here, command a subordinate official there, revoke the sentence of a court in one place, or punish a criminal without a court in another. Officials, judging that the interference of the Grand Vezir referred only to single cases, made no change in their general conduct. Those who were checked in their course by the commands of the Grand Vezir, attributing their misfortunes to the meddling of European Powers, became hostile to Europe, as if they had truly been under the control of Europe. The people, supposing that the system which they found uncomfortable was something imposed by Europe, were indignant both with Europe and the system. Ground for this misunderstanding existed in the evident stress which Ali Pasha laid upon the impression to be produced abroad by the measures adopted.

Meanwhile, Ali Pasha was constantly harassed by the attempt to please Europe with his lame, halting mechanism of provincial government. His life was the life of the bankrupt, who feels that he must postpone the inevitable crash by somehow keeping up appearances. At last he fell under his burdens, and when he died the end came. The farce of self-government in the provinces, having never been more than an appearance, disappeared with its author. It is true that Ali Pasha's system of provincial organization remained untouched. There was nothing in it to interfere with ancient usages, while the spectacle of Turkey masquerading in European garb seemed to please and to satisfy the

foreign Powers. But, with the death of Ali Pasha, the Turks ceased to pretend that the new system was the fruit of new theories.

The failure of Ali Pasha's attempt to execute the Hatti Humayoun rests upon his own shoulders. He had tremendous obstacles to encounter in the oriental prejudice, rooted in the ignorance of Asiatic provinces; in the opposition of the Moslem theologians, who believe that all measures of state must be conformed to the Koran; in the discordant elements of which the population of Turkey is composed, and in the moral corruption that permeates the whole official class in Turkey. But ministers of the Sultan have always found means of overcoming such obstacles, when their will has imparted vigor to their arms. The obstacles were never insurmountable, while the danger of European interference ought to have supplied a weighty motive for overcoming them.

Ali Pasha was regarded in Europe as an enlightened statesman. Either he was insufficiently enlightened to understand the real qualities of reform, or he was insufficiently a statesman to discover the means of giving life to his measures. He therefore left the empire as he found it, narrow and bigoted in principle, and corrupt and oppressive in practice. The most that he accomplished was to ward off the interference of Europe during fifteen years. By so doing, however, he retained the Christians of Turkey in the focus of the sympathies of Russia, and deprived England and France of the fruits of their victories in the Crimea.

The successor of Ali Pasha as Grand Vezir of Turkey was Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, a strong man, who at once made his individuality felt. Mahmoud Nedim

took for his platform the principle introduced by Ali Pasha in the treaty of Paris; namely, that the sovereignty of the Sultan can brook no interference of Europe in the internal affairs of Turkey. But he went farther than this. He claimed that every European interference, being prompted by a narrow spirit of impatience at what differs from western models, is a fanatic effort to recast orientals in occidental moulds. He therefore let it be known that, while he would exact from his subordinates the faithful service and just administration demanded by the moral code of both Moslem and Christian, he would yet govern upon the principle that western civilization is inherently unfit for the needs of Eastern races. By asserting before the world the principle that Turkey is for the Turks, he would be able to revive long-neglected rules of Mohammedan policy, which he fondly hoped were yet to restore to his country its ancient glory.

A stern attack upon official incompetency, with which Mahmoud Nedim began his career, won him much favor in Europe. It even drew from Christian clergymen, in Turkey, prayers for the Divine blessing upon his efforts. But soon his reforms took a less pleasing turn. Under the plea of economy, great numbers of Europeans and native Christians were thrust out from the public service. Even the English engineers of the ironclads of the Turkish fleet, were summarily dismissed, without pay or pension, and with but the sorry satisfaction of knowing that the Turks who took their places, however piously attached to the Koran, could never start the complicated engines which they were expected to control. Yet in these measures the Grand Vezir had the sympathy of the people. He also had the encourage-

ment of at least one of the European ambassadors. General Ignatief, the representative of the Great White Czar, took an earnest interest in all of these proceedings, more than once expressing his satisfaction at the manly self-assertion which characterized the policy of the Sultan during the ministry of Mahmoud Pasha. It was said, at the time, that no Turk could equal the unction with which this discerning diplomat used to speak the axiom, "Turkey for the Turks."

Mahmoud Pasha did not remain in power quite a year, but in that time he outlined a policy which was approved by the whole nation. In the dingy mud hovels of the villages, and in the crowded coffee-shops of the cities, the phrase, "Turkey for the Turks," became a watchword that thrilled in the hearts of patriotic Moslems. The people, sensible of the failure of Ali Pasha's sham reform, were eager to resist the European meddlers, to whom they attributed that faulty scheme. They gladly yielded themselves to the policy of retrogression as an assertion of manhood. They felt that the time had come for striking blows for independence, and were confident of their power as Moslems to hold Europe at bay. The body of Ulema, or theological teachers, seized upon this enthusiasm and turned it to account. Tracts were printed at Constantinople, addressed to the people of India, Central Asia, Afghanistan, the Malayan Islands, Zanzibar, and Northern Africa, calling upon them as Moslems to cultivate mutual relations, in order to show a united front to infidel powers which might seek to molest the Caliph of Islam. These tracts were sent to Mecca for distribution among the pilgrims, who resort to that place from all quarters, and doubtless had their influence upon the revival of Islamism, which, about

this time, swept over all Asia. Among the Moslems of Turkey itself, a new haughtiness toward Christians appeared, as a result of all this ferment. Acts of petty oppression grew more numerous. Christians were repeatedly told that the day of their exultation had passed, and that they must prepare to learn the true meaning of subjection. While the Government did not venture to approve acts of violence by Moslems, it did not wish to check the growth of patriotic devotion, and too often allowed the life and property of Christians to be the plaything of the ignorance and bigotry of the country districts.

The successors of Mahmoud Nedim Pasha made no pretense of wishing to bring the Turkish administrative system into harmony with European ideas of right and justice. Hence they received every proposition made by Europeans at the point of the bayonet. They sometimes redressed specific cases of injustice to Christians, but they did it upon the demand of Europe, and as a traveler gives up his purse to a highwayman. Within two years after the death of Ali Pasha they had placed the Turkish Empire in the same confirmed position of hostility to the civilization of the West which it had held before the Crimean war. That is to say, they had prepared the way for any interested Power to reopen, on the first favorable excuse, the terrible question of the East.

The excuse for reopening the Eastern question was not long delayed. In July, 1875, a small band of Christian peasants of the Herzegovina * commenced a revolt

* The southern district of the Turkish province of Bosnia. In Turkey Herzegovina is called Hersek.

against the Turkish Government. These peasants claimed that they were forced into this action by excessive taxation, and put forth a series of demands upon the Sultan which showed them to be suffering from oppressions prohibited by the Hatti Humayoun of 1856. These demands, which were so skillfully framed as to suggest that the ignorant peasants had received intelligent advice from abroad, claimed, (1) The removal of the two and one-half per cent. lately added to the tithe tax; (2) A reduction of the tax on sheep; (3) A reduction of the amount demanded from dissenters from Islamism under pretext of their exemption from military service; and (4) The organization of the local police force so as to give the peasants power to defend their own villages from outlaws.

The demands of the peasants were simple, but they told the whole story of the failure of reform. The Herzegovinians are a stalwart race of mountaineers. Some of them are Moslems and some are Christians, but the Moslems are commonly the rich landlords, and the Christians the poor peasants of the district. The Moslems, possessing wealth and political power, had made the Christians bear all burdens of taxation, and had used a police force composed of hireling aliens to crush them into subjection.

The revolt in Herzegovina was at first of trifling proportions. Some villagers of Nevesinje chased away some policemen, and that was all. But the people of Herzegovina are of one blood with the Dalmatians of the western seacoast, the Montenegrins of the rocky south, and the Servians of the pleasant east. The insurgents at once received tokens of the sympathy of all these peoples, in the form of arms, and means, and

men. The Turkish Government was advised by some of its European mentors to avoid the use of armed force which might mainly result in increasing the general sympathy for the rebellious peasants. So it delayed sending troops to Herzegovina, and consented, instead, to let a commission of resident consuls undertake to persuade the rebels to lay down their arms. The European Powers, therefore, united in directing their consuls in the region to attempt this persuasion.

This attempt of Europe to mediate in Herzegovina failed because the consuls could find no responsible chiefs of the insurgents. But it had a serious consequence by giving gravity to the question of pacification. This question having attracted in ever so slight a degree the united attention of Europe, could not with dignity be dropped. Thus, from the moment that the Great Powers had failed to quell the disturbances in this Turkish province, they were committed to further effort, even at the risk of reopening the discussion of the whole Eastern question.

The next effort of the Powers was made early in February, 1876. The six guaranteeing Powers then united in presenting to the Porte a demand for a series of administrative reforms which were to be introduced in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and which were intended to satisfy the wishes of the insurgents while protecting the sovereign rights of the Sultan. This demand was embodied in an able note prepared by Count Andrassy, the Chancellor of the Austrian Empire. In this form the wishes of Europe were read and re-read to the long-suffering Minister of Foreign Affairs at Constantinople by the six ambassadors who for this purpose successively called at the Sublime Porte. Twenty years had,

as we have seen, materially altered the opinion of the Turkish nation as to the propriety with which it might accept advice from Europe. The people regarded this demand of the Powers as impertinent and unjust. Yet the Sultan was led by the imposing character of the demonstration of European unity to promise the reforms proposed in the Andrassy note.

Meanwhile the revolt in Herzegovina had spread over the whole district, and had extended into Bosnia. Adventurers had flocked in from all sides. All who had anything to gain from the disruption of Turkey, or from possible turmoil in Europe—Panslavists, Socialists, Nihilists, and professional agitators—were doing their share to foster the revolt, being quick to perceive that this insurrection would aid their various projects in proportion to the vigor which it could be made to assume. The Turkish Government had at length sent troops against the insurgents. But it was hampered by the lack of funds, and acted with a languidity that seemed due to ignorance of the gravity of the crisis.

In the midst of these difficulties the Sultan followed the traditional practice of Sultans and changed his ministry. He recalled Mahmoud Nedim Pasha to the office of Grand Vezir as the one man among all his servants who was strong enough to extricate the country from its dangerous predicament.

Mahmoud Nedim Pasha soon provided for the wants of the army by stopping the payment of interest on the public debt.* Since the larger part of the Turkish

* In October, 1875, the Turkish Government had a revenue estimated at about $100,000,000 per annum. Of this sum over $70,000,000 was required to pay the interest upon the debt. The principle which has ever guided the expenditures of the Turkish Government may be seen from

bonds are held in Europe, this suspension of interest payments was at first regarded with approval by the people of Turkey. The refusal to make these payments seemed to be one step more toward emancipation from the burdens imposed by Europe upon the empire.

But the suspension of payment of interest produced one result which to the greater part of Mahmoud Pasha's patriotic supporters was most unexpected. The market value of Turkish bonds fell fifty per cent., and numbers of Turks and Turkish Christians, who had invested their earnings in these bonds, were reduced to poverty. Then was the great middle class of the population filled with dismay. Some refused to believe that their wealth was gone. Some attributed their loss to the machinations of evil-minded Europeans, and thirsted for revenge. Others sat down and wept childish tears; or, seeing nothing in life worth living for, went out and hanged themselves. But the great mass of the people united in cursing Mahmoud Nedim as the author of all their ills, and even began to whisper that the throne itself needed renovation.

In his diplomatic undertakings Mahmoud Nedim was hardly less unfortunate. Before the end of 1875 he had

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the disparity between the sums allotted to objects of public utility and those set apart for purposes of individual luxury. The appropriation for the privy purse of the Sultan in 1875 was about $7,000,000, while the appropriations for public instruction and for public works in the same year were $625,000 and $550,000 respectively—sums which little more than covered the salaries of officials appointed to carry on these two departments. The incompetency of Turks in questions of finance is further shown by the fact that while the Government controls and taxes all mining operations in the country, and while rich mines of nearly all the metals exist in Turkey, it expended in this year for the expenses of its department of mines $25,000 more than its revenue from the mines farmed out by the department.

foreseen the union of the European Powers to demand reforms in Turkey. It would be a humiliation to the Sultan to be forced to yield to European dictation at the very moment when all Turkey was congratulating itself on its emancipation from European interference. Mahmoud Nedim, therefore, resolved to forestall the action of Europe by granting to the empire, of the free will of the Sultan, reforms which would outdo the reforms that were about to be demanded by the six Powers for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Accordingly, in December, 1875, Mahmoud Pasha issued a proclamation of liberty and justice to all Christians. Unfortunately, however, this liberality failed to produce the expected result. This proclamation found a place in Count Andrassy's note, as evidence that the Sultan was already committed to the proposed reforms, but it did not for a moment delay the Powers from demanding the execution of the measures thus shown to be unobjectionable to the Sultan. As soon as the proclamation of liberty was seen to have failed in forestalling the action of Europe it was dropped, like so much waste paper, by Mahmoud Nedim, and was never again remembered. As to the reforms demanded in the Andrassy note, and formally pledged by the Porte, the insurgents of Herzegovina rejected them as inadequate, and thus afforded the Grand Vezir a pretext for depositing them also in his waste basket.

Meanwhile the condition of the country went steadily from bad to worse. The rebellion in Herzegovina grew to such proportions that the Turkish troops were soon successfully opposed in pitched battle by 15,000 insurgents. The famine in Asia Minor had reduced the revenues of the country, and the suspension of interest

payments had sapped its resources by paralyzing trade. The treasury was empty. The army was unpaid. Civil officials, who were near enough to make their clamors heard, only gained thereby an occasional sop, in the form of a single month's pay out of long arrears of dues. Robbers flourished on the highways. Outrages upon Christians became more and more frequent in all parts of the country. The Moslem population was thoroughly permeated with the idea of restoring Moslem supremacy as understood by the ancients, and it was not restrained by the Government. Then it was that the political agitators, whose hopes are based upon the dissection of Turkey, found the time favorable for new adventures.

To meet these difficulties Mahmoud Nedim Pasha showed resource and invention only in one line. The objective point of his whole policy was the maintenance, in the face of Europe, of the independence of the Sultan's will. The condition of the Sultan's subjects had, in the eyes of the Grand Vezir, no pressing importance. It never occurred to him that liberal reforms would build up the power of Turkey. Restrictions of the independent sovereignty of the Sultan were to him the greatest dangers which menaced the empire. Mahmoud Nedim carried his jealousy of foreign influence into every department, excepting Russia alone from his opposition. Even the efforts of European capital to develop the natural resources of Turkey were resisted as dangerous to the sovereignty of the Sultan.*

* A single sample of the opposition encountered by European enterprises in Turkey will illustrate this point. A foreigner desired a Government permit to publish a newspaper in Constantinople. He was provided with letters of introduction from his ambassador, but he was

The course of the Ministry in other directions showed an equal lack of foresight. A great revolt in Bulgaria was, of all things, to be feared by Turkey. The people of the province were listening with half conviction to the men who wished to excite such a movement. Yet the Turkish Government made a series of arbitrary arrests of Bulgarians, beginning with those who were supposed to have the intellectual capacity for treason, and including those laborers whose diligence led them into early rising. At the same time it sent troops into Bulgaria, and advised the Moslems of the population to provide arms for use in case of a rising of the Christians. These measures aroused the suspicion, excited the anger, and encouraged the intrigues of the Bulgarians. Nevertheless these results were a complete surprise to the Turkish Government.

By this time the restraints placed upon Russian ambitions by the Crimean war had almost ceased to be

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required by the Turks to furnish certificates of good moral character from the police and the Moslem Imam of the district in which he lived, and of the district in which he proposed to have his editorial rooms. He had to obtain from the police courts of all the districts of the city, certificates that he had never been prosecuted on a criminal charge. He had to provide a testimonial to the effect that his portrait was not among the adornments of the rogues' gallery. He was then forced to go over the whole ground again, because the first set of papers became lost in the bureau of the press. He was obliged to sign a bond surrendering his right of appeal to his ambassador, in case of his condemnation by Turkish courts, on account of the utterances of his paper. At length, after days of wasted time and weeks of impatience, he was told that all this labor had merely established the fact of his fitness to edit a paper. The question of the propriety of establishing a new paper in Constantinople had yet to be considered. It was full six months from the date of his first application, before the would-be editor received the permit to publish his paper. The permit was granted because the patience of the foreigner had finally exhausted the obstructive expedients available to the Turk.

formidable. Germany and Austria had entered into special bonds of amity with the Czar. France was partially crippled, and was wholly occupied with her home politics. Italy had special projects of her own in which Russian aid would be useful. More than all, the revival of an unreformed Turkey had rendered morally obnoxious the idea of a European union for the defense of the Government of the Sultan. Even England, which in 1856 had led Europe to guarantee such a united action in defense of Turkey, would now hardly venture to take arms in behalf of a nation so thoroughly despised. The time was propitious for Russia to make a new attack upon Turkey.

After the failure of the measures proposed in the Andrassy note, the Russian Government urged a new effort to regulate the Turkish administrative system. Such an effort was demanded by the situation of the Christians of Turkey. It would logically result from the previous action of the Powers. But the urgency of the Russian interest in the question excited the suspicion of the British Government. England began to hesitate, and finally objected to the form of the demands afterwards embodied in the Berlin Memorandum, and, yet later, published to the world its suspicion of Russian motives by declining to unite with the other Powers in presenting these demands to the Porte.

From that moment war between Russia and Turkey began to be discussed as a possibility of the near future.

CHAPTER X.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF TURKEY.

SOME notice of the course of reconstruction in Turkey, which will give an intelligible idea of the attitude toward reform assumed by the conquered empire, must close this epitome of life under the shadow of the Sultan. A summary of Turkish policy, as shown in the events of the latter part of 1878 and of the first six months of 1879, will answer this purpose.

The reconstruction of Turkey evidently depends upon a reform of methods more than upon a reform of laws. The existing laws of Turkey, while by no means perfect, would be found reasonably good if they could control the officials of the Government. This fact, often remarked, has been illustrated in Cyprus, where the English officials make Turkish law the rule of the land. A suppression of arbitrary action on the part of the officials, an inauguration of obedience to the regulations which give civil rights to dissenters from Islamism, and a removal of financial abuses, would give Turkey a fair chance to recover itself.

At the close of the Congress of Berlin the question of the finances seemed to contain the key to the whole future of Turkey. Development in all other departments depended upon the establishment of a wise and solid financial administration. This question of the finances embraced three problems: (1) the regulation of the cur

rency; (2) the arrangement of equilibrium between receipts and expenditures; and (3) the provision of funds to meet special expenditures which would be involved in the reorganization of the administrative system.

At this time the unit of the Turkish currency was, among the common people, the fictitious piaster, well named by the people the "rotten" piaster, which was represented by neither coin nor paper, and which had been created two years before by the emission of paper money intended to circulate at thirty per cent. premium. The people had been ordered to reckon the one hundred piaster note at one hundred and thirty piasters. So they kept their accounts in ideal piasters, which were thirty per cent. less in value than the paper currency. By the time that peace had been made with Russia this paper currency had depreciated to one-third of the value of gold.

But besides the paper currency and besides its gold coins, the Turkish Empire has three varieties of coin tokens.* Each variety of coinage has its own scale of fluctuation with reference to gold. All these varieties of coins were at that time received and paid out by the Government at their face value within certain limitations. These limitations made one kind of money avail able for use in one department of Government, and entirely a different variety of currency available in another department.

This practice of the Government, together with the

* The coinage of Turkey consisted at this time of: (1) gold coin of standard value; (2) silver coin worth from 90 to 95 cents on the dollar; (3) metallic coin—a debased silver largely used in the interior—worth about 75 cents on the dollar; and (4) copper coin worth from 40 to 50 cents on the dollar.

fact that the law making paper a legal tender was enforced only in certain parts of the empire, retained these varieties of coins in full circulation, side by side with the paper currency, which, in its turn, was also available at its face value for paying some kinds of Government dues.

The traders of Turkey found their lives made miserable by the confusion of currencies. Forced by decree to keep their accounts in "rotten" piasters, and by the exigencies of trade to receive coins at a rate proportioned to the daily quotation of gold, they found their books inextricably confused. The nominal value of their cash in hand would be changed in a night by the smile or frown of Bismarck or of Gorchakof. Goods which they must sell at prices fixed in "rotten" piasters must be paid for to European merchants in gold, and must be daily marked up or marked down. Estimates of profit or loss were impossible. The very foundations of business were unsettled. Moreover the value of the paper money showed such a tendency to depreciation as to suggest that it might one day lose all value.

Some ignorant ones, whose financial intellect was not equal to the emergency, imagined, like the Greenbackers of the United States, that the paper fiat money alone was stable, and that gold and silver were subject to unreasonable fluctuations of value. "Paper money," such men would say, "is a fixed quantity. A one hundred piaster note is always one hundred and thirty piasters. But gold is always on the move. A one hundred piaster gold piece is sometimes worth two hundred and fifty piasters, sometimes two hundred and eighty, sometimes three hundred. You never can say to-day what it will be to-morrow."

This class of people had a habit of exchanging all their coin for paper at the close of the day, so as to have a firm basis of record for the cash-book. But those who thus willfully laid up for themselves disaster were comparatively few. The multitude clamored for the removal of the paper currency. Meanwhile, the price of bread fixed by Government steadily advanced as paper depreciated. Again and again bread riots of greater or less importance disturbed the city. The Government, finding the peace seriously threatened by the bread question, sought the means of allaying excitement; first by the abolition of the bread tax of one cent per pound, and finally in the appointment of a fixed rate of redemption for the paper currency received by the bakers in trade. This last measure freed the price of bread from the fluctuations of the gold market, and thus kept the populace more quiet.

But the Government also took up the popular cry against paper currency, as if its own paper was a plague inflicted upon the land by some calamitous process of nature. In accordance with this view of the question, it formed a commission of eminent men charged with the duty of abolishing the paper currency, and instructed by a laconic order to "get rid of the stuff one day sooner."

The Porte had perhaps no definite purpose of repudiation. It merely lacked the will to make the sacrifices necessary to the maintenance of the value of the currency. But its subsequent course showed either an utter lack of foresight or a dishonest purpose, which during more than six months it lacked the courage to declare. It had issued this paper with a promise to receive it for taxes. But it did not keep this promise.

While in some places near Constantinople the officials did accept paper money in payment of taxes, in places at a distance from the city they had no hesitation in refusing to accept it.

The effort to abolish paper money took various forms. The Government first proposed to issue three per cent. bonds in exchange for the paper. But the people did not want bonds; they wanted bread. Then the Finance Minister announced that he would weekly pay to the commission $60,000 in gold. With this money the commission was to buy paper at market rates, and was to burn the notes thus taken up. The plan was a rude method of redemption which, continued through ten years, might accomplish the object in view. It worked very well up to the moment of providing the specie for the use of the commission. The treasury was, however, equal to the crisis which then arose. It issued paper money wherewith it bought gold, which it handed over to the commission. The commission took the gold wherewith it bought paper, which, with great ceremony, it publicly burned. This being done, the commission once more sealed up the plates from which paper money was printed, and lo! the treasury provided it with no more gold!

The Government now appealed to the people to bring in their paper money for destruction as a patriotic gift. A great subscription list was opened, and headed with a contribution of $250,000 in paper from the Sultan. Some considerable amounts of paper obtained in this way were duly cast into the fire. But the price of gold steadily advanced. Then the police attacked the guild of money-changers, arresting numbers of its members on a charge of speculation in the price of gold. These

men were ordered, under threat of exile, to make no more sales of paper for gold. The unhappy men of money replied that they could not receive paper unless they were allowed to sell it. The nonplussed Minister of Police dismissed them upon this, with a savage warning that they would be exiled if they dared refuse to receive paper money. Then everything went on as before.

The treasury next announced that, in view of the high price of gold, the Government would commit no injustice if in redeeming the paper it should refuse to pay the full face value. It would therefore pay for its paper fifty cents on the dollar. Of the fifty per cent. thus to be paid, forty-five per cent. would be given in treasury bonds and five per cent. in specie. The next day the price of gold took a terrible leap upward, and gave the *coup de grace* to this scheme of relief.

After weeks and months of terrible distress the Minister of Finance made an end of the matter. He issued a decree which fixed twenty-five cents on the dollar as the rate at which the Government would redeem its paper money, and which went into an elaborate argument justifying this decision on the ground, (*a*) that the finances of the country would not admit of a larger rate of redemption; (*b*) that the Government cannot endure longer to see its people in the agony of strife with an unredeemable currency; (*c*) that the treasury has no right to pay off its currency notes in full while it refuses to pay anything on its bonds; (*d*) that the present holders of the notes, having received them in trade at a rate of twenty cents on the dollar, will suffer no real injustice by the proposed rate of redemption; and (*e*) that the Government has a right to ask of its people

sacrifice which will benefit the whole empire. The decree then went on to say that taxes must hereafter be paid in specie, excepting that a small fixed proportion of each payment might be paid in currency, counting as twenty-five cents each paper dollar so paid. The currency thus paid in for taxes would be destroyed in the presence of the taxpayer. As to the mass of the paper currency, the decree expressed the hope that the Government would be able to raise money for its redemption at the rate fixed in the decree.

Upon the promulgation of this decree gold went up to one thousand or more. The price of bread rose to fifty cents in paper per pound. Then the whole mass of tradesmen, with the railroads and ferry companies, announced that, since the Government had returned to specie payments, they would do likewise. The police made some feeble efforts to enforce the use of paper money. There was misery on every side, and in some places riotous outbreaks. But finally the paper money dropped out of the circulation, remaining only in the hands of bankers and money changers, who bought it up at eight and ten cents on the dollar, upon the somewhat dubious expectation that it will some day be worth at least twenty-five.

During all this time the Turkish Government had been coining quantities of silver and copper money. Every penny coined was instantly put into circulation. But in the summer of 1879, shortly after having disposed of the paper question, the Government decreed that the accounts of all the departments should be kept in gold, and that no other coin be received for taxes. All the favorite currencies of the people were thus demonetized. Copper money lost four-fifths of its pur-

chasing power, metallic currency one-half, and silver about one-eighth. Had the common people been able to understand finance, these measures might have caused a fierce insurrection against the men who had ruined the nation. But as it is, the people merely groaned at the mysterious shrinkage in the value of their money, and calmly proceeded to accommodate their lives to the new circumstances. The Government of course stepped at once into the enjoyment of a solid revenue. But that revenue was wrung from the life-blood of the people.

The remarkable lack of conscience, of foresight, and even of ordinary perception, shown by the course of the Turkish Government in the currency question, also appeared in its other financial measures.

At the close of the Russian war the Porte found on its hands estimates for about $150,000,000 of annual expenditures, while its receipts could not by any means be calculated to amount to more than $70,000,000, with every prospect of falling very far below that figure. The cost of the army was great; a vast array of annuities burdened the estimates of every department of Government; the salaries of the high officials were enormous; the civil list of the Sultan almost defied limitation. The extravagance of the palace is illustrated by its kitchen expenditures. To the Turkish mind there is something grand in the idea that a nation may be fed on the bounty of the Sultan. So from time immemorial the Sultan's kitchen has furnished food to great numbers of families whose abode happens to be near the palace. Every day, long processions of servants carrying on their heads trays loaded with the royal bounty, might be seen going along the roads for

almost a mile from the palace to distribute food to the favored houses. The expenses of the palace throughout were on this lordly scale, and counted as an unknown factor in the budget of the empire.

On the other hand the system of revenue which is in vogue in Turkey is wasteful. Taxes are collected by the provincial officials with little direct supervision from the treasury. As a rule, every rich man in the country finds means of escaping taxation. Taxes paid by such men are, more frequently, personal gifts to tax-collectors than regular assessments of the Government.* The officials first pay their own salaries out from the funds which they collect, and remit to Constantinople only balances. The check against frauds in their remittances is in the record of amounts collected in previous years, and in the reports of the hired spies who watch every official. The greatest looseness prevails in the accounts, as may be judged from the generalization which, in estimates and reports, takes the place of specific figures. A man who is called upon for a statement of Government funds in his hands will commonly satisfy his superior if he says that he has "a hundred and odd thousand piasters." This looseness affords every facility for embezzlement, and large peculations are often cov-

* I was once living in a house belonging to a wealthy Armenian, and worth about six thousand dollars. One day a tax-bill for my landlord, which stated the value of the house at nine hundred dollars, was left at the door. I asked an Armenian broker, who lived near me, how such a valuation was made. "I got it done," said he. "I went around with the appraisers and arranged matters with the owners. All the property in this quarter is appraised at from one-sixth to one-fourth of the real value. The appraisers made about five hundred dollars from this one quarter. The house-owners could afford to pay them, for the appraisal fixes the tax during three years."

ered up in the unexplained "odd thousands" of piasters. Every year the treasury loses large sums, and is at a loss for means of protecting itself.* It cannot bear to be harsh with its officials.

The tobacco trade in Turkey is a Government monopoly. The *ad-valorem* tax on tobacco may roughly be estimated to average forty-five cents a pound. Government statistics fix the annual consumption of tobacco at about fifty million pounds, which should yield a revenue of nearly twenty-five million dollars. Yet the Turkish treasury receives only about seven million dollars from tobacco, and cannot learn the cause of the deficit.

A similar waste occurs in other branches of the revenue. Many taxes are farmed out to contractors. An auction is held; capitalists bid off the taxes of each province for a certain sum, pay down the money, receive control of a detachment of police, and proceed to squeeze the people until they have recovered their money, with usury. The men who buy these tax rights are commonly Christians; Armenians and Greeks. They grind down the people without mercy; plentifully fee the Turkish policemen who are their tools, and who have to bear the resultant obloquy of oppressing the Christians; and retire on a competence in five or six

* In 1879 some clerks in the Post Office Department were detected in the embezzlement of two hundred and sixty thousand piasters, and offered to refund if the Government would forgive them. A commission, which had been appointed to investigate the case, agreed to let them off if the money was refunded. The culprits paid about one-half of the amount, then suddenly declared that they had paid enough, that they had taken less than was reported, and that they could not give up any more. This was a poser for the commission. The culprits retained their positions, and the Government said no more about it.

years.* All these profits might just as well go to the treasury as to the contractors.

To alleviate these evils of fiscal method, to produce equilibrium between receipts and expenditures, the Turkish Government did nothing in the year which followed the treaty of Berlin. It did announce that the expenses of the palace had been reduced—the Sultan's kitchen had been strictly limited to one thousand rations of food per day. But aside from this the ingenuity of the ministry suggested nothing tangible in the way of retrenchment.

The Porte has often stated that the main obstacle to the introduction of reform is the lack of funds. There is some truth in this. Numbers of subordinate officials receive for salary less than five dollars per month, being expected to eke out their subsistence by means of "bakhsheesh." It is idle to expect honesty and fidelity from men hired on such terms. To pay reasonable salaries for faithful work requires money, and the Government decided to borrow this money in Europe.

The negotiation of a loan was a matter of vital importance. The Porte appointed a commission of supervision over its finances, including among its members an eminent English financier, loaned, as it were, by the English Government for the purpose. But this commission, besides being denied authoritative voice in affairs,

* In 1876 a Greek bought from a tax farmer, for eight hundred dollars, the right to collect the tithes of a sub-district in Asia Minor. In that one season he made twenty thousand dollars profit out of these tithes. The case was perhaps an extreme one, since the Greek was fortunate both in his ability to apply pressure to the peasants, and in the rate at which he was able to sell the grain collected under the tithe laws. But the case illustrates the needless limitations which prevent increase of the Turkish revenue.

besides being snubbed by the Finance Minister for its mere existence, was flatly refused access to the facts as to the financial situation of the empire. Its object of existence was thus defeated; the commission became a mere appendage to the train of the pashas, and it disappeared early in 1879.

Meanwhile the Government had found that it could sell no new bonds until it had satisfied the holders of the old. Hence it began to negotiate with the holders of the old bonds to advance more money as a means of saving their former investments. A plan was arranged for the issue of the new bonds which would pay off the old at about fifty-two cents on the dollar,* and which would also bring about $100,000,000 in cash to the sorely tried treasury of Turkey. The council of foreign bondholders were to receive by way of interest on the whole debt, thus reconstituted, certain revenues, such as those of the Custom House, the revenues of Cyprus, and those derived from certain specified items of taxation.

Dissensions between the various groups of foreign bondholders would, perhaps, in any case, have annulled this arrangement. But the scheme fell to pieces upon the question of absolute control of the revenues set apart for the interest account. The bondholders demanded a control over the collection of these revenues through the syndicate which was to receive and disburse them. But the Porte held that it would prejudice the sovereignty of the Sultan in permitting a foreign

* The Turkish Government has always borrowed money at usurious rates. The average amount paid by foreign bondholders for each six per cent. bond of one hundred dollars has never been more than fifty-two dollars.

syndicate to collect any part of its revenues. It claimed that the consecration of these revenues to the payment of interest might well rest upon the solemn promise of the Turkish Minister of Finance. The bond-holders however replied that the promise of the Minister of Finance, although unexceptionable when considered as a promise in the abstract, was yet liable to interruption of fulfillment.* The bondholders refusing to treat upon any such terms, the question of foreign loans for Turkey still hangs upon the unwillingness of the Turks to allow foreigners to have full control over the revenues hypothecated to meet interest dues.

Failure also attended the work of reconstruction in the general civil administration of Turkey.

The Porte was bound by treaty with England to make special reforms in Asia Minor, and by the treaty of Berlin to execute reform measures in Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus, besides granting a liberal form of administration to the island of Crete. After some delays the new Government for Crete was satisfactorily inaugurated, with a Greek for governor of the island. The reforms in Macedonia and in Asia Minor were delayed by the lack of money. But England pressed

* In 1876 a certain set of interest coupons was falling due. Five million dollars were needed to pay the coupons. The Finance Minister declared that certain revenues would be applied to this payment, and appointed a committee of bankers to receive these revenues for the bondholders. The price of bonds went up; everybody was pleased. But the Government fell into straits for money for war purposes, borrowed $500,000 from the commission, and shortly asked for more, but was refused. Thereupon an irate pasha appeared upon the scene, dissolved the commission, and seized the whole of its funds, saying: "Is this money an inheritance which you have received from your fathers that you should refuse to lend it to the treasury at such a time?"

earnestly for a beginning to be made in Asia Minor, and at last, in December, 1878, was gratified by the appointment of Haïreddin Pasha to be Grand Vezir, with orders to inaugurate the new system of administration.

Haïreddin Pasha was a man of culture, and known to be strictly honest, although he was by birth a Circassian. He had served the Bey of Tunis long and faithfully as Prime Minister, and had been driven from office only because he was too strong a man to be controlled by the Bey. His sense of duty was a new element in the councils of the Turkish Government. He was a whole-souled Mohammedan, but believed that Mohammedanism involved obedience to laws of justice and morality. He believed that a pure Moslem civilization could exist, and could be made to equal in beneficent results the civilization of Christianity.

The name Haïreddin means the good of the faith. The people eagerly seized upon this name, believing it to be of good omen. They expected this strong, honest man to restore in Turkey all the ancient usages of Islamism. But, when they found that Haïreddin Pasha's plan included strict justice to Christians, and the employment of foreign talent in Government service, they cried out in horror.

Haïreddin Pasha found a task before him which demanded all of his energies. The officials in the provinces of Turkey were men like those in Macedonia, who, when ordered, on the eve of a threatened fillibustering expedition from Bulgaria, to report the number of able-bodied Moslems in each district, and to draw rifles for distribution among them, added ten or twenty per cent. to the actual number, drew the arms, and sold to the Bulgarians those not required for the Turks.

They were men like those in Geghi, in Armenia, who, detected in infamous oppression, united to bribe the commissioner sent to investigate their conduct, and gained from him a report which both exonerated them, and secured the imprisonment, as traitorous agitators, of their Armenian victims. They were men like the pasha who had his son commissioned as a religious teacher of the Mevlevi grade; not because of any qualifications for the degree—for the boy had no qualifications—but because the commission brought with it a life annuity of considerable amount. Or they were like those other pashas, who, when this quasi-religious teacher died, suffered themselves to be over-persuaded by his childless widow, and consoled her for her loss by conferring the vacant commission upon the mulatto infant of one of her slaves.

But Haïreddin Pasha's difficulties were not limited to the character of the provincial officials. The clerks of the Sultan's palace were opposed to all real reform. These men, originally appointed to facilitate the Sultan's consideration of current matters, had learned to control his policy. They formed, in fact, a ministry opposed to the ministry. If the Grand Vezir had a communication to make to the Sultan, the clerks would require him to state the substance of his business, and would ply him with pipes and sweets in an ante-room, while they prepared the royal mind for the interview. When the Grand Vezir was at length admitted to the presence, he would find the Sultan with his mind irrevocably made up, and, perhaps, with his decision written out in full.

Decisions of the Porte, made in full council, were often set aside in a moment by these clerks of the

palace. Orders to the provincial governors sent out from the palace frequently set aside previous orders of the Ministry. Officials removed for malfeasance had only to bring golden arguments to the ears of these clerks, in order to be at once reinstated by order of the Sultan. The intrigues of this palace clique underlaid and overreached every department of the public business, insuring the failure of any steps toward radical reform. The Sultan was kind-hearted, and seemed to mean to do right. But he had no means of seeing the needs of his empire except through the eyes of the selfish and evil-minded staff by which he was hedged in.

The first important action of Haïreddin Pasha was to send away from Constantinople, appointed to distant trusts, nearly all pashas who had previously held the office of Grand Vezir. These were followed into honorable exile by a host of smaller dignitaries, including the famous Mahmoud Damad Pasha, the Sultan's brother-in-law. In consequence of this action, the new Grand Vezir soon found himself involved in a struggle for his very existence. There was no longer room for the discussion of reforms. The sole question of the hour was, whether Haïreddin should hold the office to which he had been called, or should be driven from it by men who had united against him as an alien, and an enemy of the official class.

This struggle lasted for several months. Finally, in the early summer of 1879, Haïreddin Pasha presented to the Sultan a sort of ultimatum, in which he demanded the freedom of the Ministry within the limits of responsibility, the abstention of the palace clique from direct communication with the provinces, and from interven-

tion in the appointment of functionaries, and some other concessions designed to give the Ministry control over the details of administration. The Sultan long hesitated, then rejected these proposals as limitations of his royal prerogatives, and removed Haïreddin Pasha from office. As in the question of the finances, so in the question of general reform, the whole undertaking failed as soon as it reached the vital point of limiting the arbitrary powers of the Sultan.

By this time it must be thoroughly clear to the reader that the absolutism of the Sultan, and the corruption and incompetence of officials, are mighty obstacles to the voluntary reform of Turkey. But the religious feeling of the Turks is another obstacle to reform which may not have been sufficiently developed in these pages. The strong undercurrent of religious feeling among the masses has a powerful hold upon the pashas at Constantinople.

The Turks worship one true God. They speak of themselves as his servants, and wait upon him for tokens of his mercy. The great truth, there is no god but God, rings in their ears at all times. They believe that this truth has been made known to the world by the Koran. They suppose that Christians disbelieve this truth. During many centuries they have lived among Christians, have protected with their troops the public rites of Christianity, have lent their military bands to Roman Catholic processions in the streets of Pera. They feel that they thus wholly know Christianity. The Christianity which they know is a thing of outward ceremonies, which—besides setting up a priest before the people to hold the keys of heaven and of hell; besides covering the walls of its churches with

pictures to be adored—bears no fruit in the life, and sells at a money valuation absolution for adulteries, robberies, and murders.

When Moslems see this Christianity, the old iconoclastic fury of the Saracens thrills in their whole being. They long to vindicate the honor of the true God by tearing down the emblems of idolatrous worship. They feel that the Koran is right in placing Moslems far above misbelievers who worship pictures and idols. Now all reforms necessary to the protection of the Christians of Turkey involve a relaxation of the doctrines of the Koran upon this point. If taxes are to be equalized between Moslems and Christians; if Christian testimony is to weigh against Moslem testimony in the courts; if Christians are to hold office with jurisdiction over Moslems, the Koran, although in the eyes of the Turks the source of all modern information as to the unity of God, must be set aside. The whole religious sense of the Moslems of Turkey opposes this. The Moslem cannot believe that he can find in the Christendom which he considers idolatrous the measures that will save his land from ruin.

But it may be supposed that the Sultan, seeing the truth, may adopt the necessary reforms, notwithstanding the feeling of his people. But he too is checked. He may see that the maintenance of the truth of the unity of God does not depend on resistance to Christian civilization. But he is Imam of the Faithful, and Caliph of Islam before he is Sultan of Turkey. He is bound to defend Islamism against all manner of infidel aggressions. He has inherited no right to the title of Caliph, and holds it upon the condition of defending the faith. When the first caliphs lost their military power, great

doctors of Mohammedan law decided that whichever Moslem chieftain might best be able to defend Islam, would be entitled to recognition as Caliph. Hence, the Caliphat passed from one great dynasty to another, until it finally fell into the hands of the Turkish house of Osman.

If the Sultan, by unholy bargains with Christian statesmen, was to destroy the supremacy of Islam in his dominions, he would place his throne in jeopardy. From this fact arises the strange dilatoriness of the Sultan in all matters of reform, and his curious habit of resisting to the last moment the demands of Europe, and of yielding without resentment to any actual demonstration of force. The overwhelming force which compels the Sultan to accept dictation also relieves him from imputation of treachery to his high trust. In such cases the people and the doctors of the law approve the course of the Sultan. The first resistance is a defense of Islam, and the ultimate concession to brute force is a new line of defense which saves Islamism from greater ills. Under such circumstances the religious principle of Turkish opposition to Christian methods cannot be expected to yield to logic or persuasion.

This book has been written in vain if it has not brought home to the reader a deep sense of the complications which surround every undertaking to produce a solid reconstruction of Turkey. The jealousies of European Powers, leading to the maintenance of the Turkish Empire; the selfish greed and incompetence of Turkish officials, crying aloud for the destruction of the Sultan's power; the interests of the Christians of Turkey, demanding protection from Europe; the religious bigotry of the Moslems, opposing that protection; the

ignorance of all classes, unfitting the whole nation for co-operation in measures of relief; the intricate commixture of the various races, preventing separate treatment of them; the race hates and ambitions found among the people of Turkey, defeating attempts to deal with them as a whole, are serious obstacles to the restoration of peace and prosperity among these people.

The solution of this problem of the East is not, then, one of those operations which may be forecast or presupposed. But past experience would indicate but two lines of approach to such a solution. Either some of the European Powers, braving the danger of a general European war, must seize the territories of the Sultan in order to regulate their condition at leisure; or, all of Europe together must control the Government of Turkey, with the purpose of protecting the development of the populations until they can stand alone, free, united, progressive.

The first method of solving this problem would have to deal with the unknown factor of the amount of bloodshed, which, through internal anarchy and European opposition, would precede its success. It would also, having succeeded, crush the aspirations of all the people of Turkey, leaving them still subject to an alien power.

The second method of solution would have to deal with the possibility of the desperate opposition of the Turkish Government, but this possibility is not great in probability. The Caliph of Islam has already shown that he resists only until concession becomes inevitable. All precedent goes to show that, in the presence of a fixed determination on the part of Europe to control the Government of Turkey, Turkish logic would authorize the Sultan to yield without actual

bloodshed. The point of gaining control once passed, the difficulties of reconstruction would yearly diminish. The people of Turkey have, so far, been encouraged, by both European and Turkish policy, to maintain race animosity toward people of other blood living in adjoining houses. By a Government which offers equal privileges to all, they would be encouraged to drop these race animosities in political life, as they have already commenced to drop them in social life. Successful, this method of solving the Turkish question would preserve the peace of Europe, would perpetuate for every European nation existing commercial privileges in the Levant, and would preserve to the different races of Turkey their rights in the land which is dear to them all.

The first method of solution involves discord in Europe and disappointment for the hopes of the inhabitants of Turkey. The second method of solution implies concord in Europe, and all reasonable satisfaction of the aspirations of these people. But delay in attempting some solution is dangerous folly. While Europe has no ground for expecting reforms in Turkey to be inaugurated by the free will of Turkish officials, every day that it spends in hesitation goes toward preparing new cataclysms in Turkey which at any moment may plunge the whole continent in war.

THE END.

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